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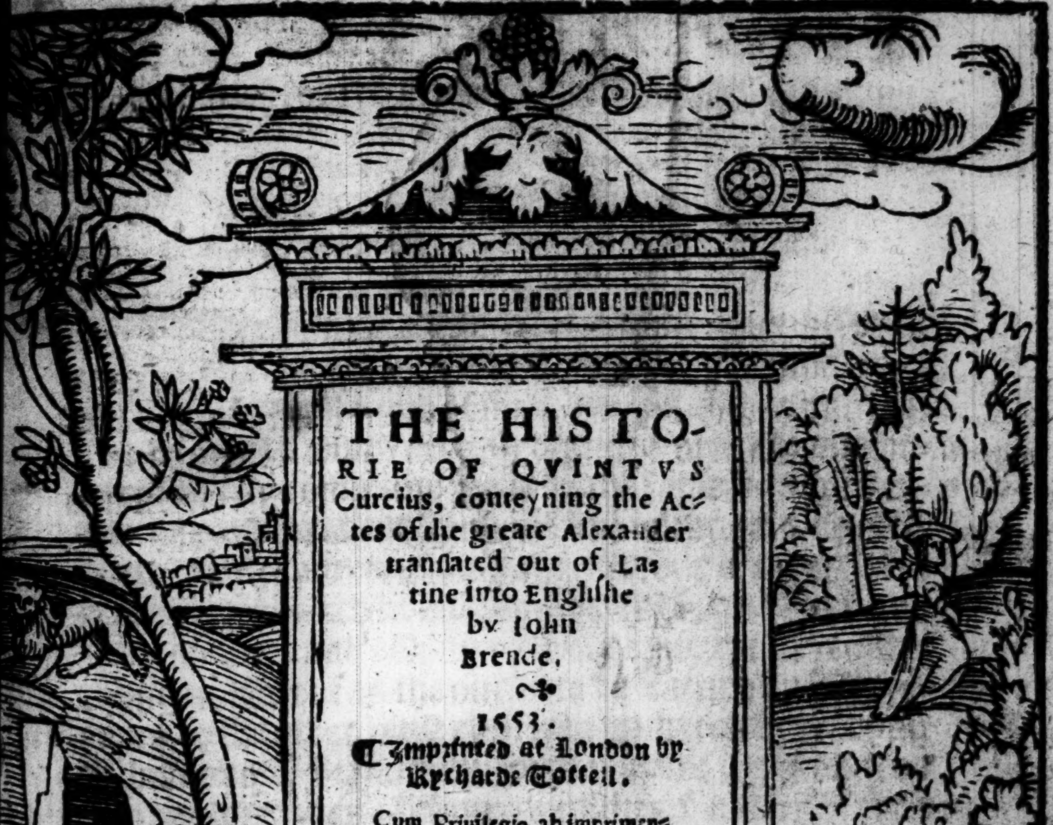

THE HISTORIE OF QVINTVS
Curcius, conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander
tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſhe
by Iohn
Brende.

❧

1553.

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Cum Priuilegio ab imprimendum ſolum.

TO THE RIGHT
hyghe and myghtye Prince, Jhon Duke of Northum-
berlande, Earle marſhall of Englande. &c. John Brende
wiſheth continuall proſperitie, wyth
encreaſe of ho-
nour.

Manye haue wrytten, and experyence beſydes declareth how neceſſarye hiſtoricall knowledge is to all kynd of men, but ſpecially to princes, and to others which excel in dignitye, or beare authorytye in eny commune wealth: the ſame beyng counted the moſt excellent kynde of knowledge, the chiefeſt parte of ciuyl prudence, and the mirroure of mans lyfe. There is required in all magiſtrates both a fayeth and feare in God, and alſo an outwarde policye in worldly thynges, whereof as the one is to be learned by yͤ ſcryptures, ſo the other muſt chiefly be gathered by readyng of hiſtories. For in them men may ſee the groundes and beginnynges of cōmen wealthes, yͤ cauſes of their encreaſe, of their proſperous mayntenaūce, and good preſeruation: and againe by what meanes they decreaſed, decayed, and came to ruyne. There the vertues and vices of men do appeare, howe by their good doynges they floriſhed, & by their euil actes they decayed. How they proſpered ſo lōg as they mainteyned iuſtice, perſecutd vice, vſed clemencye & mercye, were liberal, religyous, vertuous, and voyde of couetouſnes. And contrarewiſe, howe they fell into manifold calamityes, miſeryes, & troubles, when they embraced vyce and forſoke vertue. In hiſtoryes it is apparāt how daūgerous it is to begyn alteracions in a cōmen wealth, How en-

There shoulde be in a magistrate bothe a faithe & feare of god.

Faithe learned out of the scriptures.

Policie Learned out of histories

Preservacion

Alteracons

hatred is the destruction of kyngdoms.

Inconveniences

uyes & hatredes oft riſyng upō ſmal cauſes, haue ben the deſtruction of great kyngdomes. And that diſobeyers of hygher powers, & ſuche as rebellyd agaynſt magyſtrates, neuer eſcapyd punyſhment, nor came to good end. In theym there be preſydentys for all caſes that may happē, in folowyng the good, in eſchuyng the euyl, in auoydyng incōuenyences, & in forſeyng miſchiefes. In them may be learnyd how to temper in proſperitye, how to endure in aduerſytye, & after what maner men ſhould vſe them ſelues both in tyme of peace & warre. As in all artes there be certeyne prynciples and rules for men to folowe, ſo in hyſtoryes there be enſamples paynted out of all kynde of vertues: wherin both the dignitye of vertue, & foulenes of vyce, appeareth much more lyuelye then in eny morall teachyng: there beyng expreſſed by way of enſample, all that Philoſophy doth teach by waye of precepts. Thys is ſuche a kynde of knowledge, as make men apt euē wyth ſmal experyēce eyther to gouerne in publyke matters, or in their owne pryuate affayres: For by cōparyng thynges paſt, wyth thynges preſent, men maye eaſelye gather what is to be folowyd and what is to be eſchewyd. And he whyche can reade thē wyth ſuch iudgement, waying the tymes wyth the cauſes and occaſions of thynges, ſhall bothe ſee moſte depelye in all matters, beſt declare hys opynion, & wynne moſt eſtymaciō of prudence & wyſdome. For if aged men be eſtemyd for the wyſeſt by reaſon of their experyēce. Or if Homer paynted forth in ẏ perſō of Ulyxes the ymage of a perfyte wyſe man: imputyng the cauſe therof, to the knowledge he hadde gatheryd by traueylyng many coūtreyes, & by vewyng and markyng the cuſtomes and maners of dyuers nacyons:

Then ſuch as be wel experte in hyſtories and by the well applying of them, can take the due fruite perteyning to the ſame: muſt nedes obteygne profoundnes of iudgement, with a ſtable and grounded wyſedome. For in them men may beholde, as it were before there eies, both the whole worlde, and the gouerment therof, with the policies and lawes, the diſcipline cuſtomes & manners of al people from the begynnyng. Thys is ſuche a thyng, that who ſo euer is clerely voyde of it, though he be endued wyth neuer ſo greate a wytte otherwiſe, with ſuch aptnes of nature, or other goodly vertues. Yet when he ſhall haue to do in weyghtye affaires, he ſhall fynde a certeigne mayme and imperfection, not onely in ciuyll gouerment, but alſo in the matters perteining to the warre.

Profoundnes.

Mayme.
Imperfection.

For al though in an excellent capitaine nature muſt geue the chiefeſt partes, that is to ſay: hardines, ſtoutenes of ſtomacke, wyth a natural wiſdome and vnderſtanding: by which qualities onely (experience therunto adioyned) diuers haue become famous capitaines. Yet thys is a thynge that geueth a greter policye, groundeth a deaper Iudgemente, addeth a further ornament and glory, and formeth a perfitnes & an excellencie in a ſhorter ſpace. The ſhortnes of a mans liefe ſhortened beſides by ſo manye caſualties, is the cauſe that men be taken awaye before the canne get ſuche an actual experience as may make thẽ perfite, and cõmonly become rotten, before they canne attayne to a rypenes in knowledge. But by thys kynd of learning in youth a man is become aged, he hathe knowledge wythout experience, he is wyſe before it is loked for, he is become a councelour the firſte houre, and a man of warre the fyrſte daye. The ſame thynge hath bene

Ornament
Excellencie
Caſualties

verified in manye, whych in young age haue bene prudente councellours, and in ſmall experience politique capitaynes. Alexander hereof is an euidente enſample, who, brought vp vnder Ariſtotle in learnynge, and ſo geuen to this kinde of ſtudye, that he had Homer alwayes laied vnder his beddes hede (wherby he myght be admoniſhed of the vertues and offyce of an excellent Prynce) entered into hys kingdome, whan he was but .xx. yeares of age: and neuertheleſſe bothe eſtabliſhed hys owne eſtate wyth ſuche prudence, that within ſhorte ſpace (beſides the enlargynge of hys owne boundes) he ſubdued the greateſt parte of the worlde. And albeit he began ſo young, and continued ſo ſmale tyme: yet no mans actes be comparable to his: beinge counted the moſt excellente captayne from the begynnyng. But if eny man wyl impute the greatnes of his doynges to the perfyte diſciplyne the Macedons vſed in the warres, and to the politique Capitaynes, and expert ſouldiers, left to hym by hys father Phylyp: it ſhal appeare euydētly by the decaye of Realmes when they haue bene gouerned by imprudent Prynces, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaynes receyued when they were conducted by euyll Capitaines, that no prudence of counſellours can take place, nor eny dyſciplyne or experience of the ſouldiours can auayle, if the heade be not a mā of excellēt vertue. There is nothing newe vnder the Sunne (as the wyſeman ſaith) and it is impoſſible for eny thing to chaūce either in the war or in cōmon policye, but that the lyke maye be founde to haue chaunced in times paſt. All which thinges laied vp in memorye, as in a place of ſtore: mē may alwayes be furniſhed for all chaunces that maye occurre.

Seing hiſtories be then ſo good and neceſſary, it were much

verified

Admoniſhed.

A prudent councelor.
A politique Captayne.
An expert souldiour.

Imprudent.

The people do imitate the[i]r governors, either in vertue or vyce.

occurre.

miche requiſite for mens inſtruccion, that they were tranſlated into ſuche tõges as moſt men myght vnderſtãd them: and ſpecially the hiſtories of antiquitye, whych both for the greatnes of the actes done in thoſe daies, and for the excellencie of the writers haue much maieſtye and many enſamples of vertue. I therfore hauyng alwayes deſired that we engliſhmẽ might be founde as forwarde in that behalfe as other nations, which haue brought all worthie hiſtories into their naturall language, did a fewe yeares paſte attempte the tranſlacion of Quintus Curtius, and lately vpon an occaſion performed & accompliſhed the ſame. Whych auctour treating of thactes of yͤ great Alexãder, being figured in the Prophetes, Ieremie & Danyel, & mencioned in the firſt boke of yͤ Machabies, ſeme to haue bene borne, and brought forth into the world, not without a mooſte ſpeciall prouidence and predeſtinacion of god: who proſpered ſo his procedinges that (as Iuſtine writeth) he neuer encountred with eny enemyes whõ he ouercame not, he beſeiged no citye that he wanne not, nor aſſailed nation that he ſubduednot. Thys ſo worthie a matter I thoughte good to dedicate vnto youre grace, folowyng their enſample that haue traueyled in the like ſtudye, whiche are wonte to declare their good willes, by beſtowing of their labours.

Instruction

Note.

Therunto I was alſo moued yͤ rather, by conſidering yͤ qualities of your grace, which ſeme to haue certeine affinitie and reſemblaunce wyth ſuch as were yͤ very vertues in Alexander. For Arrianus writeth of hym yͭ he was of a ſemelie ſtature, bolde in his enterpriſes, ſtowte of ſtomack, moderate in pleaſures, wiſe in cõſayle, and prouident to forſee thynges. That he was excellent in conductyng of an armye, moſte pollitique

Resemblaunce

Note.

Provident

in ordeyng hys battailes, that he could encourage his ſouldiers wyth apt wordes, and when neade requyred take part of their peril. What partes of this be in your grace, let them iudge that haue knowen your actes in the warres, and your excellent ſeruice done, both in the time of the kinges maieſtie that nowe is, and also in his fathers dayes of moſt famous memorye. Although in doing hereof I haue not parauenture ſatiſfied al mens expectacyōs, yet my truſt is, that your grace will accept the ſame in good part, and conſider that in a tranſlacion a man can not alwayes vſe is owne vaine, but ſhalbe cōpelled to tread in the aucthores ſteppis: Whyche is harder, and a more difficulte thynge to do, then to walke his owne pace.

Expectations

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¶ The firſt boke of Quintus Curtius ſupplied, of the actes of the greate Alexander Kyng of Macedon.

(∴)

PHilip of Macedon whiche by ſubduing of Greace, dyd fyrſt bryng his countrye in reputacion. was the ſonne of Amintas a man endued wᵗ wiſdome, hardines, & al other vertues of a noble capitaine. The ſame Amintas had by Euridice hys wyfe thre ſonnes, Alexander, Perdicas, & Philip, who was the father of great Alexāder: with a doughter alſo called Euriones. The Quene Euridice being in amours with one that had maried her doughter, cōſpired ẏ deth of ẏ king her huſbād, to thintent to haue maried wᵗ hir ſōne in lawe, & to make him king: which thing ſhe had brought to effect had not the treaſon and whordome of the mother, bene opened by the doughter in tyme. After the deathe of Amyntas Alexander the eldeſt ſonne enioyed hys fathers kingdome, whiche in the beginning of hys reigne was ſo aſſailed on all ſydes, that he was dryuen of force to purchaſe peace of the Illirians with money by geuīg his brother Philip hoſtage. And afterwardes by the ſame pledge made a lyke peace with the Thebans, beynge the occaſion that Phylip dyd atteine to ſuche excellencie of knowledg and wyſdome. For by reaſon that he was committed to the cuſtodye of Epymanundas whoo was

Amintas king of Macedon.

Amyntas, father vnto Phillip.

Euridice.

Alexander, Perdiccas, &. Phillip. 2

Alexander the ſonne of Amyntas.

Epymanundas.

a valiaunte captayne and an excellent philoſopher. He was brought vp in the trade of honeſt diſciplines, and princelye maners, greatly profiting vnder a phyloſopher of Pithagoras ſcole, whom Epymanundas kepte in hys houſe for the inſtruction of hys ſonne. In the meane ſeaſon Alexander was ſlaine by the means of Euridice his mother, whoſe former treaſon kyng Amyntas her huſbande had pardoned in reſpecte of the chyldren had betwene them, little thinkyng that ſhe would afterwardes haue bene their diſtruction. For when Alexander was dead, ſhe cauſed in like maner her other ſonne Perdycas to be ſlayne: whych Perdicas left behind hym one ſonne being a young babe. About theſame tyme Philip the youngeſt brother, being by good happe eſcaped out of priſō, returned into Macedon, and not taking vpon hym the name of kyng, remayned a great while no otherwiſe but as Gouernour or Tutor to his yõg neuew. Neuertheles afterwards by occaſion of ſundry miſchefes growing in the ſtate, the ſame being ſuche as mighte not well hange till the yõg king ſhould come to his age: for ẏ he appeared to be a man of ſinguler actiuitie, and of no leſſe ſkylle in feates of warre then in knowledge of philoſophie, was compellyd by the people to take vpon him to be Kynge of Macedon, whiche as then ſtode in hard plight, and great daungier of ruyne. This was done. 400. yeare after the building of Rome, and the .105. Olympiade. In the begynning of hys reigne he was combred with infinite troubles, for all the coũtries neare about (as it were by a generall conſpiracie) moued warre agaynſt hym, and at one tyme ſondrye nacions ſwarmed together out of ſondrie partes to ouerronne hys kingdom. Wherfore conſidering that it ſtode him vpon to worke warely (not being able to matche them all at once) pa-

cified

Perdicas.

Philip.

plight

cified ſome wyth fayre promiſes, other wyth money, and the weakeſt he withſtod with force. By yͤ meanes he both made his enemies afrayed, and confirmed the hartes of hys people, whych he found diſcouraged, and ſore amaſed. Theſe thynges he wrought wyth greate ſleight and fynenes of wytte, in ſuch ſorte that he miniſhed not eny parte of his honour, eſtate, or reputacion, determyning neuertheleſſe as time ſhould ſerue to deale with euery one aparte. His firſt warre was with the Atheniens whome he ouercame by ſleyghte and policye. And wher it lay in his power to haue put them all to the ſworde, he let them all at libertye wythout raunſome. By whiche poinct of clemencie (though it was but counterfaite, being done for feare of a greater warre at hand) yet it gate hym great good will and eſtimacion vniuerſally. After that he ſubdued the Peons, and from thence turned his power againſte the Illyrians, of whome he ſlewe many thouſandes, and wanne the noble Citie of Lariſſa. That done he moued warre againſt the Theſſalians, not for enie deſire of their goodes or ſpoyle of their countrey, but of a policie to adde to his ſtrength the force of their horſemen, whych at thoſe dayes were counted the chiefeſt of the worlde. This his purpoſe he brought well to paſſe, for beyng ſodeinly aſſailed, they were ſone brought to ſubiection. So Philip ioyned the force of their horſemen vnto his footemen, whereby he made his powre inuincible. After all theſe thinges happely brought to paſſe, he toke to wyfe Olympias one of the doughters of Neoptolemus King of the Moloſſons. That mariage was concluded by the meanes of Ariſba, who hadde the gouernemente of Olympias, by mariyng of her other ſiſter called Troada. Thys mariage which he thought to haue made for hys ſuertie, turned after-

Promiſes grounded in the beginninge.

ſleight.

Philips firſt ware was wyth the Atheniens.

Clemencie ioyned wth liberalitie.

Peons.

Illirians.

Theſſaliās.

Inuincible

Olimpias Philippes wyfe.

Ariſba.

Troada.

ſubuerſion

afterwardes to hys ſubuercion. For thynking to haue made hym ſelfe ſtrong by thaffinitie of Philip, he was at length by hym depryued of the hole kingdome, & ended his life myſerably in exile. Not long after this mariage, kyng Philip dreamed that he ſawe his wiues wombe wonderfully ſwollen, and to his ſeming a liuely Image of a lyon theruppō: by whiche dreame the deuyners & dreame readers did enterprete that hys wyfe was cōceiued of a chylde, yͤ ſhould be of a Lions herte and courage: whiche interpretacion pleaſed him much. Afterwardes at the aſſaulte of a citie called Methron, by ſhotte of an arrowe he loſte his ryght eye. Wherof though the diſpleaſure was greate, yet was he cōtente vpon their ſubmiſſiō, to take them to mercy. He wāne alſo the cytie of Pagus, & annexed the ſame vnto hys kingdome: He inuaded the lande of the Triballes, and at one inſtant conquered it, with all the countreis theraboute. Thus hauing made hys kingdome ſtronge by ſubduing his neighbours, at hys retourne home hys wyfe Olympias was deliuered of his ſonne Alexander the .8. daye of Aprill: Of theſe good fortunes the kyng reioyſed no leſſe then reaſon was, hauing ſtablyſhed his coūtrey at home, ſubdued his enemies abroad, and gotten an heire to ſuccede in his kyngdome. He coulde haue deſired no more of God, if the mynde of man coulde euer be ſatiſfyed, whiche the more it hathe the more it coueteth: As domyniō encreaſeth, ſo doth alſo the deſire to haue more. Whiche was well ſene in Philip, that ſtill did compaſſe howe to growe greate by taking from his neighbours, and laye alwayes lyke a ſpie, awayting tyme and occaſion, howe to catche frō euerie man. Wherunto he had occaſion myniſtred by the Cyties of Greace, for whiles one dyd couet to ſubdue an other, and through ambicion were at ſtrife who ſhould

Philippes dreame.

Methron.

ſubmiſſion obteyneth mercye.

Pagus.

Annexed

Triballes.

The byrthe of Alexand.

The mynde of man is hardlie ſatiſfyed, for the more men haue, the more the couet;.

ſhould be chiefe, by one and one, he brought them all at lengthe to ſubiection, perſuading the ſmaller ſtates to moue warre agaynſt the greater, and to ſerue hys purpoſe, contryued the wayes to ſet theym all together by the eares. But at length when his practiſies were perceyued, dyuers Cityes fearynge hys encreaſe, confederated agaynſte hym, as their commen enemye, but chiefly the Thebans. Neuertheles in a neceſſitye whē they were dryuen to wage men of warre, they chaſe hym to be their generall Capytayne agaynſte the Lacedemonians, and the Phoceans, whyche had ſpoyled the temple of Apollo. Thys warre he honorably atchyued, ſo that by punyſhynge of their ſacryledge, he gate hym ſelfe greate honoure in all thoſe partes. But in thende eſpieng eyther of thoſe coūtreis to be broughte lowe with yͤ war, he found the meanes to ſubdue both the one and the other, compellynge as well the ouercommers, as the ouercome to be hys tributaries and ſubiectes. Then made he a voyage into Cappadoce, where kyllynge, and takynge priſoners all the Prynces there aboutes, reduced the whole prouynce to the ſubiection of Macedon. He conquered Olinthus and wythin a whyle put his fote in Thrace. For where the two kynges of that countrey were at variaunce about the lymites of their kingdomes, & chaſe him to be their arbitrer, he gladly toke it vpon hym. But at the daye appointed for the Iudgement he came not thither like a Iudge wͭ a Counſell, but lyke a warrier wyth an armye, and to parte the ſtrife expulſed bothe the parties from their kingdomes. By this tyme yōg Alexander was twelue yeares of age, and beganne to take greate delyght in the feates of warre, ſhewynge mooſt manifeſt ſignes of a noble hart and Princelye courage. He was verye ſwifte of foote, and one daye at a ſolempne

Subtiltie

Philip choſen Captain agaynſte the Phoceans & the Lacedæmonians.

Reduced.

Variaunce,

Arbitter.

Wrongfullie gotten.

The towardnes of Alexander.

game of rounnynge called Olimpiacum, beynge demaunded by ſome of hys companions if he woulde ronne a race wyth theym: gladlye (quod he) if here were kinges ſonnes to runne wythall. Another tyme when certayne Embaſſadours of the Perciens came into Macedon, Alexander whyche in hys fathers abſence toke vpon hym their entertaynement, and deuiſyng wyth them of diuers thynges, in all hys communication there neuer paſſed from hym one chyldyſhe or vayne worde, but eyther enquyred the ſtate of theyr countrey, the maners of the people, the diſtaũce of the waies, the powre of their king, or the order of hys warres, wyth ſuche other like. So that the Embaſſadours hauing meruaile therat, eſteamed the prowſſe of the father to be muche leſſe, thẽ the towardnes of the ſonne, and that his courage was muche more, then was to be loked for, in one of his yeres. As oftẽ as tidings came that the king his father had won any ſtronge or ryche Towne, or obteyned enye notable victorye: he neuer ſeamed greatly ioyfull, but would ſaye to his playe felowes: my father doth ſo many great actes, that he wil leaue no occaſion of eny notable thyng for vs to do together. Suche were hys wordes, ſuch was hys talke: wherby it was eaſy to coniecture what a mã he would after proue in age, whych ſo begã in youth. His delight was not ſette in eny kynde of pleaſure, or gredines of gayne, but in the only exerciſe of vertue, and deſire of honoure. The more auctoritie that he receyued of hys father, the leſſe he wold ſeame to beare. And although by ỹ greate encreaſe of his fathers dominiõ, it ſeamed that he ſhoulde haue the leſſe occaſion of warres, yet he dyd not ſet hys delyghte in vayne pleaſure, or heaping vp of treaſure, but ſought al the meanes he could, to vſe mercial feates, and exerciſes of war: coueting

Evydent tokens of wisdome & manhode.

His hautie mynde he expressed being a childe.

ſuch

ſuche a kingdome, wherin for hys vertue and prowes, he might purchaſe fame and immortalitie. That hope neuer deceiued Alexander nor eny other, when it happeneth in a mã of vertue and noble hart, that hath will or occaſion to put the ſame in vre. The charge and gouernaunce of thys young Prince was commytted to ſundrie excellẽt Maiſters and gouernours, but chiefly to the greate Philoſopher Ariſtotle, whoſe vertue, learnyng and knowledge Kynge Philip ſo muche eſtemed, that he woulde often ſaye: he toke no greater comforte in the byrth of his ſonne, then in that he was prouided of ſuche a Maiſter for hym as Ariſtotle, vnder whoſe tuicion he remayned ten yeares. Many thynges there chaunſed beſydes, whereby it was coniectured, that Alexander ſhould proue a man of greate valoure. For when hys father ſent to Delphos to receyue aunſwere of the goddes who ſhould be hys ſucceſſour, the Oracle was geuen: that ſuch one ſhoulde not only ſuccede hym, but alſo be Lorde of the world, whom Bucephalus woulde ſuffre to ſytte vpon hys backe. This Bucephalus was a paſſyng fayre horſe, fyerce and full of courage, which Philip had boughte of a Theſſalien for thirtene talentes, & becauſe of hys fiercenes, kept him within a brake of Iron barres, yet for all that he remayned ſo fel & wode, that none durſt come nere to dreſſe hym. Whereof the kyng was ſo weary, that he ſought meanes to be ridde of the horſe. It fortuned that Alexander came one day with his father vnto ỹ ſtable. What a horſe (qd he) is marred here for lack of good hãdling, & with that came more neare, and without eny great difficultie gate vpõ his back, & vſing both the ſpurre and the rodde to the vttermoſte, ranne & mãnaged him ſo vp & downe, that ỹ horſe abid it very wel. And hauing ridde his fill, brought backe ỹ

he coueted ſuche a kingdome wc were impoſſible for any man to gouerne.

Alexander was commytted to the gouernement of Ariſtotle

The oracle at Delphos

Bucephall a horſſe of great ſtomack.

horſe againe. As he alighted, the kyng for ioye embraſed and kiſſed him, and with teares in his eyes ſayed: O ſōne, ſeke ſome other kingdome mete for the greatnes of thy harte, for Macedon can not ſuffiſe the. So that euen the the foreſeyng father, did ful wel perceiue al his poſſeſſions farre inſufficiēt for his ſonnes hart. After this kyng Philip determined to make warre againſt al Greace, for ẏ maintenaūce wherof he thought it great aduaūtage, if he might firſt winne Byzanciū, a famous citie on the ſea coaſt. Wherfore committing the charge and gouernemēt of his realme to his ſonne beyng then .xv. yeres of age, layed ſiege to the towne which made him great reſiſtaunce. When he had conſumyd all his riches and treaſure aboute the ſiege, he was driuen to ſo narrowe ſhifte, that to furniſhe hym ſelfe of money, he became a Pirate, and roued on the ſea, where he toke .170. ſhippes: the ſpoile wherof he departed emong his ſouldiours. And leſte hys whole armye ſhoulde be deteined about the ſiege of that one citye, he ſorted out the moſte choſen bandes of al his ſouldiours, & wente into Cherſoneſus, where he toke and put to ſacke manye notable townes. Becauſe his ſonne Alexander was then about .18. yeares olde, and had ſhewed euidente proufe of his vertue & manhode in all his attemptes: hys father ſent for him thither, to the entent he might in his warres learne and exerciſe all feates belongyng to a ſouldiour, & with him made a voyage into Scythia vpon none other quarell, but to ſpoyle the countrey. Thus vſyng the practiſe of marchauntes, with the gaine of one warre, he bare out the charges of an other. After he had brought the countrey in ſubiection, becauſe no riches of golde nor ſiluer was to be gotten ther, he brought frō thence .xx. M. of men, women, and children, beſides a great multitude of cat-

taile

Philippe fore-
sawe, that
macedon woonld
not satisfye
his sonne.

Insufficitient

Byzancium

Sorted out.

Amonge merchauntes
the gaine of
one voyage, &
beareth the losse
of an other.

The botie
Philip brou-
ght out of
Scythia.

taſte, [illegible].xx. thouſand choyſe mares to make a race in Macedon. In hys retourne he was encountred with the Triballes, whiche denied him paſſage, except they they myghte haue parte of his bootye. Wherupon debatynge of the matter, from wordes they fell to fyghtyng, wherat kynge Philippe was ſo wounded in his thyghe, that the violence of the ſtroke canne through the bodye of his horſe, wherof all men iudgyng him to be ſlaine, the botye was therby loſte. Aſſone as he was recouered of this hurte, his long diſſembled grudge againſt the Athenians braſte out ſo farre forth, that he made open warre vpon theym. By reaſon wherof the Thebans ſeynge the fire ſo neare at hande, gaue ſuccour to their neighbours, fearing leaſt if the Atheniãs were ouercome, the ende of the warres ſhould tourne vpon theim. Wherfore the Cities that a little before were mortall enemies one to an other, confethered together in one league, and ſente their Embaſſadours through all Greace, perſuading it to be moſt mete with a common ayde, to withſtand a cõmon enemy. Some conſidering the peryl to be vniuerſal, ſtake to the Athenens. And ſome fearyng Philips power encreaſyng, and the others decaiyng, toke parte with hym. In this warre Alexander had the charge of one of the battailes cõmitted to him, wherin his noble harte & courage did wel appeare, ſpecially when it came to the ſtroke of the fight, for there he acquited him ſelfe ſo valiaũtly, that he ſemed not inferiour to his father, nor to eni mã els, but by moſt iuſt deſert gotte the honour of the victory. Yet he was defrauded therof by the enuye and ſleight of his father, as he him ſelf complayned afterwardes. This battail was fought at Cheronye, wherin though the Athenians were the greater numbre, yet were thei ouercome by the Macedons beyng the fewer, but yet

bootie.

Philip was woũded by the Tribals

he forbare, but forgate not when he sawe occasion.

The Thebans and other cities conſpired againſt Philip.

stake.

defrauded.

The battail at Cherony.

expert Souldiours by reaſon of their long and continual practiſe in warres: neuertheleſſe the Athenyans as men not vnmyndfull of their former honour, ſpent their liues valiau̅tly. That day made an ende of al the Grekes glorye, aſwel of their large rule and gouernement, as of their moſt auncient fredome and libertie, which being hardly wonne, and longe tyme kept, was thus loſt in a moment. For theſe and many other experimentes of the valour and prowes in young Alexa̅der, although the kyng his father did alwayes beare hym ſinguler affection and fauour, yet neuertheles by certaine occaſions enſuing it was vnhappely broken. For Philip beyng maried to Olimpias mother of Alexander (as is ſayed before) toke to wyfe beſides her, one Cleopatra, whereupon fell great diſcorde and vnkindnes betwene the father and the ſonne. The occaſyon was geuen by one Attalus vncle of Cleopatra, who beyng at the new mariage, exhorted ẏ multitude to make prayers to the Goddes to ſende betwene the King and the new Quene a lawfull heire to ſuccede in the kingdom of Macedō. Whereat Alexander beyng moued: Thou naughty villaine (q̄d he) doeſt thou counte me a baſtard? And w̄ that word flang the cuppe at hys head. The kyng hearing this roſe vp, and with hys ſword drawen ran at hys ſonne, who by ſwaruing with hys body, auoyded the ſtroke, ſo that it did no harme. Hereupon Alexander with many ſtowte and diſpiteful wordes, departed from his father, and went with his mother into Epirus. Neuertheles ſone after, by ẏ meane of one Demoratus a Corinthian, who perſwaded the kyng that this diſcorde was nothing for his honoure, Alexander was ſent for againe, and much labour and great meanes was made before they coulde be wel reconciled. Wherfore to confirme this atonement there

was

Thinges hardlie wonne, and long tyme kept, are loſt in a moment.

Experim the

The diſſenſiõ betwyxt Philip and Alexander.

Cleopatra.

See the nature oſ man, when god doth not guide him.

flame.

diſobedience

Epirus.

Demoratus

Atonement.

was a mariage made betwene Alexander the brother of Olimpiades (whome Philip by the expulſion of Ariſba had made Kynge of Epirus) and Cleopatra the newe Quenes doughter. The triumphe of that daye was notable according to the ſtate and magnificence of ſuch two Prynces, the one beſtowing his doughter, and the other mariynge a wyfe. There were ſet forth ſundry notable playes, and deuiſes pleaſaũt to behold. And as Kyng Philip (betwene the two Alexanders, the one his natural ſonne, and the other his ſonne in law) was paſſing through the preaſſe wythout eny guarde: one Pauſanias a younge man of the nobilitie of Macedon, when no man ſuſpected eny ſuch thing, ſodainly ſlewe him ſtarck dead, making that day whyche was appoincted to Joye and triumphe, lamẽtable, and dolorous by the death of ſuche a Prince. This Pauſanias being a boy was enforced by Attalus to the vnnatural vſe of his body, which not content to do ſo hym ſelf, at an other open banket, cauſed diuers of his familiars to abuſe him likewyſe. Whych ſhame and villany greued the younge man ſo ſore that he complayned too the Kynge, whome althoughe the dyſhoneſtye of the matter moued muche, yet for the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the reſpect of hys ſeruyce, forbare to vſe eny reformacion in the matter. Thys Attalus was very neare vnto the kyng, and in ſpecial fauour, by reaſō he was kynſman vnto the Quene Cleopatra whome Philip had laſte maried: He was alſo elected generall Capytayne of the Kynges armye, prepared to paſſe into Aſia, as one that was bothe valliaunte of hys perſone, and no leſſe politique in the feates of warre. Vpon theſe reſpectes the Kynge endeuoured by al the meanes he coulde, to pacifye Pauſanias (beyng kyndled wyth moſte iuſt cauſe of griefe) aſwell by geuynge

The death of Phillip.

Man purpoſeth mirthe, but god ſendeth ſorrowe.

Pauſanias.

Attalus.

hym

him great giftes and promocions, as placynge him honorablie emongeſt thoſe gentlemen that were for the guarde of his perſone. But al thys coulde not appeaſe the iuſt rage of his ire, whiche wroughte ſo in him, that he determined to be reuenged, not only vpon Attalus that did the villanye but alſo vpō the King that would not miniſter iuſtice. Whiche determinacion he put in effect, as is ſayd before. Many thynges myght be ſaid more of the doynges and ſayinges of this Philip, but one thynge aboue other is to be noted, that although for the more parte he was occupied in the turmoyle of the warres, and other like buſines: yet had he euer ſuche affection to the ſtudies of humanitie and good learnyng, that he both did, and ſpake, many thynges worthy memory, whych were both witty and pleaſaunt. He lyued ſeuen and fourty yeares and reigned. xxv. beynge the. xviii. Kynge of the Macedons, as they reigned in ordre.

(·.·)

One wicked plagueth many other.

Phillippe raigned. 47. yeres.

The ſeconde boke of

Quintus Curtius ſupplied, of the actes of Alexander the great, Kyng of Macedon.

(.·.)

Alexander toke vpon him as king the .20. yere of hys age.

WHen Philip was dead, his ſonne whiche for the greatnes of his actes was afterwardes called the great Alexander, toke vpon him the kyngdome the .426. yeare after the buyldyng of Rome, being of the age of .20. yeares. His ſtate ſtode at that tyme ſubiect to muche enuie, hatred, and haſard from all partes. For the nacions and prouinces borderyng vpon him, could not wel beare their preſent bondage, and euery one of them ſought howe to recouer agayne, their auncient dominion and enheritaunce. The firſte thinge he attempted after he was kynge, was the greuous execution vpon ſoo manye as hadde conſpired hys fathers death: whiche done, he celebrated his funeralles wyth great pompe. Concerning his eſtate he ſone eſtabliſhed it, and that muche better thē eny man could haue imagyned, in one of ſo younge & tender yeares. For beynge of ſome had in contempte, and of ſome ſuſpected to be cruell, towardes the one he bare hym ſelfe ſo ſtoutely that he toke from them al contempt, and to the other ſo gentylye, that their ymagined feare of his cruell diſpoſition was cleane taken away. He graunted vnto the Macedōs, fredome, and priuiledge, from al exactions, and bondage, ſauing frō the ſeruice of warre: by whiche act he gote ſo greate fauour and loue emonges hys people, that all affirmed by one conſent, howe the perſone of their kynge was chaunged and not his vertue, his name was altered,

He beganne wt juſtice.

No man can haue the good will of all men.

but not his good gouernement. In the beginning of hys reigne, rebellion was made againſte hym on all ſides, but he by and by wͭ an incredible ſtowtenes & cōſtancy of mynd, ſtayed al their tumultes. That matter pacified and ſet in ordre, he went to Corinthe in Peloponeſe, where callyng a generall Counſell of all the ſtates of Greace was elected their general Capitayne agaynſt the Percians, whiche before tyme had afflycted Greace with mani plagues, and at that preſent poſſeſſyd the greateſt Empire in the world. His father had purpoſed that warre before: but the preuenciō of death was the cauſe he brought not his purpoſe to paſſe.

Corinthe.

Alexander elected Capitain generall againſt the Perciās

prevension

Whiles he was in preparation of thys enterpriſe, he was enfourmed howe the Atheniens, the Thebans, and Lacedemonians were reuolted from hym, and confederate wyth the Percians, and all by meanes of an Oratour called Demoſthenes, whych was corrupted by them wyth a great ſomme of money. For the reformation whereof Alexander ſo ſodainly had prepared an army, that when he came vpon them, they could ſcarſelye beleue he ſhoulde be preſent, of whoſe commyng they had not hearde before. In his waie he practyſed wyth the Theſſalians, and vſed to them ſuche gentle wordes and apte perſuaſions by puttyng them in remembraunce of hys fathers benefytes, and of the auncient kynred betwene them by their diſcent from Hercules: that he brought them to the pointe, by an vnyuerſal decre of the whole countrey, to bee creatyd their Gouernour. So great was the celeritie that this young mā vſed, & hys diligence ſo effectuall in al hys doyngs, that he made al ſuch feare him, as before were reuoltyd and regarded him little. As the Atheniens were yͤ firſt yͭ failed, ſo they firſt of al repētyd, extollig wͭ

Revolted

Demoſthenes.

Expedition

Celeritie

Extollinge.

prayſes

prayſed Alexanders chylde hode, whyche before they had deſpyſed, aboue the vertue of the aunciente conquerours. They alſo ſent Embaſſadours to requyre of hym peace, whom, he ſore rebuked whē they came to his preſens, but yet was cōtente at lengthe to remitte their offence. And although Demoſthenes was choſē one of the Embaſſadours, yet he came not in his ſyghte but in hys waye retourned agayne to Athens. Which hys doyng was eyther for feare that he had ſo often rayled agaynſte Phylip, and ſturred the Athenians agaynſt hym: or elles to take awaye the ſuſpicion of hym ſelfe from the Kynge of Perce, of whom (it was ſayed) he had receyued a great ſomme of gold to ſtande agaynſte the Macedons. The ſame thyng was layed agaynſte hym by Aeſthines in an Oracion, where he ſaieth: preſentlye the kynges golde dothe beare hys charges, but that can not laſte hym longe, ſeynge no ryches can ſuffice hys prodigall lyuyng.

Clemencie shewed.

Aeſthynes.

No riches can suffyse a prodigall lyver.

When Alexander had pacified thoſe ſturres that were begunne in Greace, before he woulde paſſe hys armye into Aſia, he made a iourney agaynge the Peones, the Triballes, and Thyſſicians, becauſe he vnderſtod they were conſpiring togithers. And for that they borderyd vpon hys countreye, and were wonte to inuade the ſame vpon euery occaſion, thought to ſet ſtay emonges them, before he would remoue hys power ſo farre of. From the Cytie of Amphipolis therefore he ſet forwardes agaynſte the Thracians, whyche at that tyme were not vnder the rule or lawe of any man. In ten dales he came to the mount Hemus, in the toppe wherof he found them encamped, with a power to reſiſt his paſſage. In ſteade of trenches they hadde impaled them ſelues wyth their cariages croſſe the ſtreightes

Amphipolis.

Mount hemus.

Impaled

purpoſyng there to wythſtand hym. And if they ſhould be inuaded by eny other waye then by the ſtreyghtes, they did determyne to roulle their cariages downe yͤ hyll vpō the Macedons, to breake their araye. That deuice was put in execution, but the ſouldiers had receyued before inſtructions by Alexander, as occaſyon ſhoulde ſerue, eyther to open ther arraye to lette the cartes & wheales paſſe through thē, or els to fall flat vpō the ground, and by couering their bodyes wͭ their targettes auoyde the daunger. They vſed the matter accordynge to their inſtitucions, and when the cartes were paſſed by, they wyth a courage and crye mounted vp agaynſt their enemies, and in a moment put them to flight. When Alexander was paſſed the mountayne he, entred into the countrey of the Tryballes as farre as the ryuer of Ligeus. When Syrmus Kyng of that lande vnderſtode of hys cōmyng, he ſente his wyfe and hys chyldren wyth ſuche of hys people, as were not mete for the warres, into an Iland called Peuca, ſcytuate wythin the Riuer of Danubye, into whyche Ilande the Thracians bordering wyth the Triballes were fledde alſo. It was not longe after that Syrmus hym ſelfe fledde thyther lykewyſe: the reſte of the Tryballes that were not wyth the kyng withdrawyng into an other Ilande, where they kepte them ſelfes agaynſte Alexander. But he by polycye founde the meanes to drawe them out of their ſtrength, wherby he ſlewe of them the nombre of thre thouſande, and the reſte fledde awaye, ſo that of pryſoners there were fewe taken. After this battayle he marched towardes the Ryuer of Danubye, to the Ilande where the Tracyans and the other Tryballes were fledde. They made notable reſiſtaunce

Those souldyers are happie, yt haue a captaine wch is able to geve them good Instructions.

Syrmus kyng of the Trybals.

Peuca.

Policie previleth greatlie in the warres.

ſtaunce

reſiſtaūce againſt him, which thei might the better do, by reaſon that Alexander wanted boates to paſſe into the Iland, the bankes wherof were ſo high and ſtepe, that they coulde not be mounted vpon, but wyth great difficultie, the riuer beſides runnynge ſo ſwifte by reaſon that yͤ ſtreame was there driuē into a ſtraight. Whē Alexander perceiued the impoſſibilitie to aſſaile them, he withdrewe to an other place, where gettyng a fewe boates, paſſed the Riuer in the night, to the number of .1500. horſemen, and .4000. fotemen. With that companye he ſet vpon a people called Getes, that ſtode ready in battail on yͤ further ſide with .4000. horſemē, &.x.M. fotemen, of purpoſe to ſtoppe the Macedons paſſage. But by their ſodaine cōming ouer, the Getes were ſo afrayed, that thei did not abide the firſt onſet. It ſeamed to them a matter of wonderful aduenture, for Alexander in one nyght without a brydge, to paſſe his power ouer the broadeſt and deapeſte riuer of all Europe. This matter ſtrake ſuche feare in theim that thei fledde into the woodes and deſert places, leauyng their citye deſolate, whiche was taken by Alexander & ouerthrowen. Syrmus king of the Triballes, with the Germaynes, and thother inhabitours vpon Danubie, ſent Embaſſadours thither vnto Alexander, to enter with him infrendſhip and amittie. And he condeſcendynge to their requeſtes, enquired of the Germaynes what thyng it was in the world that thei doubted moſt: thinkyng in dede that the terroure of his name hadde bene the moſt fearfulleſt thing vnto thē. But whē thei vnderſtode his meanyng, they aunſwered: that they doubted greatly yͤ fallyng of the ſkye. With whoſe preſūptuous anſwere Alexāder was nothing moued, nor further replied, ſauing onely yͭ he ſaide: the Germains

Reſiſtannce

difficultie

Impoſſibilitie

Getes.

Danubye

Danuby.

Condeſcended

Mortalye

Agrians.
Clitus Bardeleius.
Glaucias kyng of Thaulātes
Lagarus.
Anterians.
Cyna.
The Grekes rebelled.
The ſiege of Thebes.

were a proud people, and therupon diſmiſſed them. As he was goyng from thence againſte the Agrians and the Peans, he was aduertiſed that Clitus Bardeleius had rebelled, and was confederate with Glaucias the kyng of the Thaulantes, he had alſo intelligenſe, that the people of Anteria woulde geue him battaile in hys paſſage. Wherfore he committed to Lagarus kinge of the Agrians (whiche was well beloued of king Philip, and no leſſe in his fauour) the charge to go againſt the Anterians, and promiſed him vpō his returne to geue him his ſiſter Cyna in mariage. And Alexander hymſelfe with great celeritie, went agaynſt Clytus ⁊ Glaucias, whom in ſondrye battailes he ouercame and put to flyght. Whiles Alexander was about theſe thinges, he receiued aduertiſement, that diuers cities in Greace, and ſpecially the Thebans, hadde rebelled, whiche thing moued him muche, and was the cauſe that he retourned with ſpede to oppreſſe that commotion. The Thebanes in this meane ſeaſon beſieged the Caſtle of Thebes, wherin was a guarriſon of Macedones, and went about by al meanes to winne it. Alexander came by great iourneies to their reſcue, and encamped with his hoſte neare to the citie. Suche as bare rule emonges the Thebanes when they ſawe him come, contrarye to that they loked for, and doubtyng whether ſuche ayde ſhoulde come to theim from other cityes as was promiſed, began to conſult howe to procede. At length by a generall conſent, they determined to abide the aduenture and extremitye of the warre. The king in the meane ſeaſon ſtode at a ſtaye, geuing them ſpace to be better aduiſed and chaunge purpoſe, for he was of opinion, that no one Citye woulde euer haue made reſiſtaũce againſt ſo great a power as he had, beyng aboue xxx.thouſand fotemen,and thre thouſand horſemen,al olde ſouldiours, and expert in the traueyles of warre. The truſte of their manhode and valiauntnes, hadde cauſed him to vndertake the warres againſte the Percians. Truely if the Thebans had geuen place to fortune,and to the time,and woulde haue required peace, they mighte eaſilye haue obteined it, his deſire was ſo great to paſſe into Aſia againſt the Percians. But the Thebans that were determined to trie their force,and not to make eny ſute, fought againſte the Macedons, farre exceadyng them in numbre,obſtinately,and with great mãhode. But whiles the battailes were ioining, the guariſon of the caſtle iſſued out vpon the Thebãs backes,wherby being encloſed,thei were vainquiſhed, their citye taken,ſpoyled,and vtterly raſed. Which extremitie Alexãder vſed of purpoſe, becauſe he thought the reſt of the Grecians, afraied by their exãple,would be the more quiet, while he ſhoulde be in the warres of Aſia. To gratifye the Phocians and Plateans his confederates, whiche brought manye accuſations againſt the Thebans, he ſlewe of them ſixe thouſand,& ſolde thirtye thouſande as ſlaues: the money wherof commyng,amounteth to the ſumme of foure hundred and fortye talẽtes. Yet he ſpared al the linage of Pindarus the Poete, wherby he woulde witnes vnto the worlde,the fauour he did beare vnto learned men. In this citye of Thebes was a notable woman called Timoclea, whome when a Capitaine of Thrace did rauiſhe, and woulde haue enforced her to confeſſe her money. She brought him to a well,where(ſhe ſaide)al her precious geare was hidden. And whiles he ſtouped downe to loke into the well, ſhe thruſte him in,& threw ſtones after,wherby he was ſlayne.

The deſtruction of Thebes.

Gratifye

Pindarus the Poet.

Alexander had a fauor vnto learninge.

Tymocles

A womans ſhifte, not to to ſeeke.

For this fact ſhe being committed to priſon, and afterwardes brought before Alexander: he aſked her what ſhe was, ſhe anſwered without fear, that ſhe was ſiſter to Theogenes, which beyng elected general capitaine, againſt king Philippe his father, manfully died for the libertie of Grece. At whoſe ſtowtnes and cõſtancy, the king marueiled ſo much, yͭ he cauſed her with her children to be ſet at libertie. The Athenians had ſo great pitie & cõpaſſion of the eſtate of the Thebanes, that cõtrary to the cõmaundemẽt of Alexander, thei receiued into their citie ſuch of thẽ as eſcaped. Whiche thing Alexander toke in ſuch diſpleaſure, yͭ when thei ſent Embaſſadours the ſecõd time to demaund peace, he would not graunte atonement vpon eny other condition, but that ſuch Oratours & captaines which had ſturred thẽ to rebellion, ſhould be deliuered vnto his handes. But at lẽgth the matter was brought to that point that the Oratours were reſerued, and the capitaines baniſhed, which ſtraight fled to Darius kyng of Perce. At ſuche time as Alexander aſſembled the Greciãs in Iſthmos for the determinaciõ of his iourney into Perce, many Oratours & Philoſophers came to viſite him, only Diogenes that remained aboute Corinthe, kept him ſelfe awaye, as one that eſtemed Alexander nothing at all. Wherat he marueiled much, & went to viſit him, wher he was beking of him ſelf in yͤ ſunne. He aſked Diogenes if he had nede of eny thing he might do. To whom Diogenes nether gaue reuerẽce nor thankes, but willed him to ſtand out of his ſũne ſhine. In whoſe behauour & words, Alexãder toke ſo great delite, yͭ turning to thoſe yͭ were wͭ him, ſaid: if he were not Alexander, he would wyſh to be Diogenes. Whẽ he had put in order thaffaires of Greace, cõmitting yͤ rule therof together

with

Diogenes

Bekinge

Diogenes Answere.

with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernemente of Antipater, whom he moſt truſted, in the beginnyng of the ſpring came to Helleſpont with his whole armye, which he tranſported into Aſia, with incredible ſpede & diligence. When they were come to the further ſhore, Alexander threwe a darte to the ennemies lande, and as he was armed, leaped out of the ſhippe with greate gladnes, and there ſacrified, making peticion vnto the Goddes, that they woulde vouchſafe to admitte hym king of that land. From thence he marched towardes his enemies, and forbade his ſouldiours to make enye ſpoyle vpon the countrey, perſwadyng theim to ſpare that was their owne, and that they ſhoulde not deſtroy the thing, whiche they came to poſſeſſe. He had not in his armye aboue the numbre of .xxxii. M. fotemen, & v. M. horſemen, and but .clxxx. ſhippes: wherfore it is harde to iudge whether it be more wonderfull that he conquered the world, or that he durſt attempt the conqueſt therof with ſo ſmall a power. He choſe not out to ſuche a daungerous enterpriſe, the young men whiche were in the firſt flower of their age, but the olde ſouldiours, of whom the more parte for their long continuaunce in warres, were by the cuſtome at libertye, & fre from the warres, ſauynge at their owne pleaſure. And there was no capitayne nor eny other, that bare office in his armye, vnder the age of .lx. yeares. So that the ſouldiours for their experience, ſemed to be ſcholemaſters of the warres, and the capitaynes for their grauitie appeared to be Senatours in ſome auncient cõmune wealthe. That was the cauſe that in the fighte none of theim minded eny fleyng, but euery one conceyued the victorye in his heade, nor eny put truſte in his fete, but in his handes. Alexander that euery where

Antipater.

Helleſpont

Tranſported

32000 footmen & 5000 horſmen.

The numbre of Alexãders army

180 ſhipps

Oulde ſouldiers beſt for the warres.

Captaines of 60 yeares oulde.

Oulde ſouldiers truſt their hande and not their feete.

chiles.

Homer.

Dariꝰ king of Perce.

made ſacrifice, did vſe moſt ſolempnitie at Troy vpon Achilles tombe, of whom he was diſcended by his mothers ſide. He iudged hym moſte happye of all men before him, becauſe in ſuche glorye he dyed younge, and hadde his actes ſet forth of ſuche one as Homer was. From thence he paſſed forwardes into the dominions of Darius kyng of Perce, whiche beyng the ſonne of Arſanus, and the fourtene kyng after Cyrus, had gotten the poſſeſſion of the Monarchie of the whole eaſte parte of the worlde. The chiefeſt cauſe that moued Alexander to inuade him, was to be reuenged of the domages and deſtructions, wherwyth his predeceſſours had afflicted the countrey of Greace, and alſo for demaundyng tribute of Philip his father, for the whiche he ſent a proud and preſumptuous embaſſeate, callyng him ſelfe the kyng of kynges, & kinſman of the Gods. Laſtly he had writtē to Alexander, & called him his ſeruaunte, and gaue commiſſion to his Lieutenauntes, that they ſhoulde beate that madde boye the ſonne of Philip with roddes, and afterwardes bryng him to his preſence in kynges apparaile. And furthermore that they ſhoulde drowne both ſhyppe and mariners, & conuey all the ſouldiours that ſhould be left on liue, beyōd the redde ſeas. They therfore purpoſing to execute the kynges cōmaundement, aſſembled their power at the riuer of Granike, whiche doth deuide the countrey of Troye from Propontides, hauyng to the nūber of .xx. M. fotemen, and as many horſemen, wyth whom they had taken the ground on the further ſide of the riuer, where Alexander muſt nedes paſſe ouer. Wherof whē he was aduertiſed, though he ſawe preſent peryll in the enterprice to fight in the water, and the ouſe, from the lower ground, againſt his enemies, whiche had the aduauntage

Proude and
hautis woorde
forgettinge &
[illegible]
from the same

Troye.
Propōtides

The battel vpon the riuer of Granik.

uauntage of the higher banke, yet vpō a ſinguler truſt of his owne good fortune, & the valiantnes of his ſouldiours, attempted the matter. At the firſte he was ſore encountred, and putte in greate haſarde of repulſe, but at lengthe he vaynquiſhed and ouerthrewe hys enemyes. In doynge wherof, there neither wanted policye in hym ſelfe, nor yet ſynguler manhode in hys menne. There was ſlayne in that battayl of the Percians .xx. M. fotemen, with .ccl. horſemē, & of the Macedons but .xxxiiii. This victorye was greatly effectuall to Alexanders purpoſe, for therby he wanne the city of Sardes, beyng the chiefe ſtrength the Perciās had for the maiſteryng of the ſeas, vnto the which citie and to all the reſt of the countrey of Lidia, he gaue libertye to liue vnder their owne lawes. He gote alſo into his poſſeſſiō the citie of Epheſos, by reaſon that the fourth daye after the battaile, it was abandoned of the guariſon wich Darius ſet there. In the meane ſeaſon there came Embaſſadours frō Magneſia, & from the Tralians, profering the deliuery of their cities. Parmenio was ſent to them with .iii. M. fotemen, and .cc. horſemen with which power he wanne Miletum that ſtode at defence, & marching from thence towarde Helycarnaſſus gote all the townes theraboutes at the firſt approche, & afterwardes beſieged Helicarnaſſus it ſelf, which wͭ great trauail he wan at lēgth & raſed it to the groūd. As Alexāder entred into Caria, Ada the quene of that countrey which had bene ſpoyled of all her dominion by Orontobates Darius lieutenaunt (ſauyng of one ſtrong citye called Alinda) mette wyth Alexander, and adopted him for her Sonne and heire. He woulde not refuſe the name and the profer of her liberalitte, but did betake to her againe the cuſtodye of her owne city. And beſides for yͤ memory of her beneuolēce

Haſarde.

Policie and manhode & shold goo together.

Abandoned.

Magneſia

Parmenio.

Miletum.

Hellicarnaſſus.

Ada the quene of Caria.

Orontobates.

Alynſia.

Licia.

Pamphilia.

Piſidia.

Phrigia.

putte the whole countrey of Caria vnder her rule and ſubiection. From thence he wente into Licia and Pamphilia, to the entente that by gettyng the poſſeſſion of the ſea coaſtes of thoſe countries, he myght cauſe the ſea power of Darius to ſtand to none effect. Whē he hadde once ſubdued the people of Pyſidia, he entred into Phrigia, by the whiche countrey he was enforced to paſſe, and marchyd towardes Darius, with whom he had great deſire to encounter, hearyng ſaye that he was commyng agaynſt him with many thouſandes of men of warre.

The thirde boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, Kyng of Macedon.

(.·.)

Alexander in the meane ſeaſon hauyng ſet Cleāder to wage mē of warre out of Peloponeſe, & eſtablyſhed the coūtreis of Lycia and Pamphilia, remoued hys Armye to the Citye of Celenas through thys Citye. Ther ran at the ſame tyme the Ryuer of Marcia, verie famous in the Greak poeſies: whoſe head ſpringing out of the top of an highe mountayne, and fallyng downe vpon a rocke beneth, made muche noyſe & roryng. It floweth from thence, and watreth the fyldes all aboute, wythout encreaſe of eny ſtreame ſauyng hys owne. The cullour wherof beyng like vnto the caulme ſea, gaue occaſion to the poetes to fayne, howe the Nymphes for the delyghte they toke in that riuer, chaſe their dwelling vnder that rocke. So long as it ronneth within compas of the walles it keapeth his owne name, but when it cometh without where the ſtreame is more ſwifte and vehement, is then called Lycum. Alexander did enter into this towne, beyng forſaken of the inhabitauntes, and perceiuing they were fled into the caſtle which he determined to win before he departed, firſt ſēt to ſōmon them by an Heraulde; whych declared that except they would yelde them ſelues, they ſhuld ſuffer the extremitie of the lawe of Armes. They broughte the Heraulde into an highe towre whych was ſtrong both by nature and workmāſhip, willing him to conſider the thynge, and to declare vnto Alexander yͭ he wayed not

Cleander.

Celenas.

Marcia.

Nymphes.

Lycum.

ſufficiently

Imprenable.

ſufficiently the ſtrengthe of the place, for they ſaid they knewe it to be imprenable, and if the worſt ſhoulde fall yet were thei ready to dye in their truth and allegiãce.

Thei yelded not; before necessitie constrained them.

Notwithſtanding whiche wordes, when it came to the point, that thei ſaw thẽ ſelues beſieged, and al thinges ware ſcarſe, they toke truſe for .lx. dayes, with this compoſicion, that if thei were not reſcued by Darius within that time, they woulde rendre it vp into his handes. Which they did afterwardes at ẏ daie appointed, when they ſawe no ſuccours cõming. To ẏ place there came Embaſſadors to him frõ Athens, makyng requeſt, that ſuch of their Citie as were taken priſoners at the battail fought vpon the riuer of Granyke, myght be reſtored to thẽ. To whom aunſwere was made, ẏ when the warres of Perce were once broughte to an ende, bothe theirs & al other ẏ were Greakes, ſhould be reſtored to their libertie. Alexãder had his preſent care & imaginacion alwaies vpõ Darius, whõ he knewe not yet to be paſſed the riuer of Euphrates.

Euphrates

He aſſẽbled therefore al his power togethers, purpoſyng to aduẽture the haſard of the battaile. The cõutrey was called Phrigia that he paſſed through, plentiful of villagies, but ſcarce of Cities, yet there was one of greate antiquitie called Gordiũ, the roial ſeat ſometime of king Midas.

Cyty of Gordyum.

The riuer Sangarius doth run through it, & it ſtandeth in myd way betwene the ſeas of Ponte & Cilicia: beynge iudged to be the narowest part of Aſia, by reaſon of ẏ ſeas which lye on both ſides, repreſentinge the forme of an Ilãd. And if it were not for a ſmall point of land, that doth lye betwixt thoſe ſeas, thei ſhould ioyne bothe togethers, Alexãder hauing brought this citie vnder his obeiſãs,

Obeysaunce

entered into the tẽple of Jupiter, wher he ſaw the wagon wherein Midas the builder of ẏ Citie was

wont

wõt to ride. The ſame in the furniture & outward appearaũce differed little frõ other cõmon wagons, but there was in it a thing notable: whych was a rope folded and knit with many knots, one ſo wrethed within an other, yͭ no man could perceiue the maner of it, neyther where yͤ knottes begã, nor where thei ended. Here vpon the coũtremen had a propheſie, yͭ he ſhuld be lord of al Aſia, yͭ could vndo yͤ endles knot. That was a matter which put the king in a marueilus deſire to become the fulfiller of yͤ propheſie. There ſtode a gret nũbre about him both of Phrigians & Macedons, the one part of thẽ muſing to what concluſion thys matter woulde come to, and the other fearing the raſhe preſumpciõ of theyr kyng, foraſmuch as they could perceiue by no reſon how yͤ knot ſhould be vndone. The king him ſelf alſo doubtinge, yͭ the faylynge of hys purpoſe in yͤ matter, myghte be taken as a token of his euyll fortune to come. After he had cõſidered the thyng: What matter maketh it (qd he) which way it be vndon, and ſtriued no lenger how to to vnknit it, but out of hande cut wͭ hys ſword the cordes a ſondre: therby either illuding, or els fulfilling theffect of the prophecie. Whẽ this was done Alexãder purpoſed to find out Darius wherſoeuer he were, and to the intent he wold leaue al thinges cleare behinde hys backe, made Amphitorus captayne of hys nauie vpon the coaſt of Helleſpont, cõmitting yͤ charge of the mẽ of war to Egilocus. Thei two had commiſſiõ to deliuer the Ilãds of Leſbos, Scio, and Coos from the handes of the Percians. And for the furniture of their charges, appointed to them .l. talentes. And ſent to Antipater and ſuche other as hadde the gouernaunce of the Cyties of Greace, threſcore talentes. He gaue order that ſuch as were hys confetherates, ſhold wyth their own powre of ſhyppes defende the ſeas of Helle-

Gordies knot.

Gordions knott, was endlesse. Impossible to be unknitt, but cutt in twaint.

Amphitorꝰ
Egilocus.
Leſbos.
Scio.
Coos

Mẽnon.

The Cytye of Ancyꝛe.

Phaphlagonya.

Hellespont accoꝛding to the leage betwixt thẽ. It was not yet come to his knowledg how Mẽnõ was deade vpon whom he ſet his whole regard, knowynge if that he moued not agaynſte him, no manne ſhoulde be hys ſtoppe befoꝛe he came to Darius, Alexander came too the citie of Ancyꝛe wher he made hys muſters, & ſo entred into Paphlagonya, whereunto the Grecians be boꝛderers, of whom (it is ſaid) the Veneciãs be diſcended. Al this countrey yealdid vnto him, and gaue hym pledges, obteining to be free of tribute, ſeing they neuer paid eny to the Perciãs. Calas was captaine ther, who taking with him the band of ſouldiers that were lately come out of Macedon went vnto Capadocia. But Darius hearing of the death of Mẽnon, was noles moued therwith then the caſe required, foꝛ then all other hope ſet apart, he determined to trye the matter in parſon. Foꝛ he condempned althinges that had bene done by hys deputies, hauing opiniõ that good gouerment wanted in many of them, & that foꝛtune had fayled in them al. He came therefoꝛe to Babilon, wher he encamped, aſſemblyng al his foꝛce togethers in ſighte, becauſe he would ſhew the greater courage. And vſig the enſãple of Xerxes, in taking of his muſters, entrẽched ſo much ground about, as was able to receiue .x. thouſand men, within the which he lodged in the night ſuch as had bene muſtred in the day, and from thence they were beſtowed abꝛoade in the playne countrie of Meſopotamia. The numbꝛe of his hoꝛſmẽ and fotmẽ were innumerable, and yet ſeamed to the ſyghte to be moꝛe then they were. There were of the Percians an .C. thouſand, of whom .xxx. thouſand were hoꝛſmen.

The nũbꝛe of Darius mẽ of war

Of the Medians .x. thouſand hoꝛſmen, and .xxx. thouſand fotemen. Of the Barcanites two thouſand hoꝛſmen

men, with brode ſwordes and light bucklers, and. x. M fotemen with like weapons. Ther were of the Armenians. xl. thouſand fotmen and. vii. thouſand horſmē. The Hircanians of greate eſtimacion emongeſt thoſe nacions had. vi. thouſande horſmen. The Deruicens were. xl. thouſande fotemen armed with pikes, wherof part had no hedes of Iron, but dried the pointes of thē in yͤ fier. Ther were alſo of the ſame naciō. ii. M. horſmen. Ther came from the Caſpian ſea. viii. M. fotmē ⁊. cc. horſmē, and with thē of the rude nacions of Aſia ii. M. fotmen and. iiii. M. horſmen. To the increaſe of theſe numbres there were. xxx. M. mercenarie ſouldiers that were Greakes. Haſt wold not ſuffer to cal for the Bactrians, Sogdians, ⁊ Indians, with other the inhabiters of the redd ſea: nacions whych had names ſcarſely knowen to their owne kynge. Thus Darius wãting nathig les thē the multitude of mē, greatly reioiſed to behold thē. And puffed vp wͭ the vanite, ⁊ flattery of the great mē which were about hym, tourned to Charidemus of Athens an expert man of war (whych for the diſpleſure that Alexãder did beare him was baniſhed his coūtrey) ⁊ aſked him if he thought not yͤ cōpany ſufficient to ouerthrow the Macedons. Wherunto Charidemus without reſpect of the kinges pride, or of his owne eſtate, aunſwered: peraduenture ſir (qd he) ye wyl not be content to heare the truth, and excepte I tel it preſently, it ſhalbe to late hereafter. This greate preparation and hughe army of yours, gathered of the multitude of ſo mani naciōs raiſed vp frō al partes of the oriēt, is more fearful to the inhabiters hereaboutes, thē terrible to your ennemies. your mē ſhine in colors and gliſter in armure of gold: exceding ſo much in ryches, that they which haue not ſene thē wͭ their eies cā

not

Charidemus words vnto Darius.

The Phalanx of the Macedons.

not cōceiue eny ſuch thing in their mindes. But cōtrariwiſe, the Macedons being rough ſouldiers, without ani ſuch exceſſe be terrible to behold. The frōts of ther battailes ſtand cloſe togethers alwaies in ſtrēgth, furniſhed with pikes & targets for defēce. The which thei cal their Phalanx, is an immouable ſquare of fotemen, wherin euery one ſtād cloſe to other, ioynyng weapō to weapon. Euery ſouldier is obediēt to yͭ whiche is commaūded him, redy at his captaines becke, whether it be to folow his enſigne, to kepe his aray, to ſtād ſtil, to run, to fetch a cōpaſſe, to chaūg thorder of yͤ battail, to fyght on this ſide or yͭ ſide: euery ſouldier can do theſe things ſo wel as yͤ captaines. And becauſe you ſhal not thinke gold & ſiluer to be ſo effectual to this matter, they begā and obſerued thys diſcipline, pouertie being maiſtres. When they be wery, yͤ groūd is their bed, they are ſatiſfied with ſuch meate as thei find by chaunce, and they meaſure not their ſleape by the lengthe of the nyght. Thinke you the horſmen of Theſſaly, the Acharnans, and Etolians whych be inuincible mē of warre, wil be repulſed with ſlings, or ſtaues hardened in the fire. It behoueth you to haue a like force to repulce thē, and to be ſerued of the ſame kind of men. My coūſel is therfore that you ſēd thys gold & ſyluer to wage ſouldiers, out of thoſe countreis from whēce thei come. Darius was a man of a meke and tractable dyſpoſicion, if the height of his eſtate had not altered the goodnes of his nature: which made him ſo vnpaciēt to heare yͤ truth, that he cōmaunded Charidemus to be put ſtreight wayes to death: being a man that was fled to his protection, and yͭ gaue him right profitable counſell. When he was going towardes his death, he left not his libertie to ſpeake, but ſaid: there is one at hand that ſhal reuēg

Good counsell, and plaine speeche, slenderly rewarded.

my death. For he agaynſt whom I haue geuen the counſaile, ſhal puniſh the for not folowing of myne aduice. And thou beinge thus altered wyth the libertye thou haſte, being a Kyng, ſhalte be an enſample to ſuche as ſhal come after, that when menne commit theyr doinges to fortune, thei clearly forget the ſelues. Whiles Charidemus was ſpeaking theſe wordes, they whych had the charge committed vnto the put him too death, whereof afterwardes the Kynge toke ouer late repentance, confeſſyng hym to haue ſpoke the truth, & cauſed him to be buried. There was one Thymones the ſone of Mentor, a yoūg mā of great actiuitie, to whom Darius gaue the charge of al ẏ ſouldiers ſtraungers (in whō he had great confidence) willyng hym to receiue them at Pharnabaſus hands, and gaue to Pharnabaſus the rule ẏ Menon had before. Thus Dariꝰ beyng careful of the buſines he had in hand, whether it were through penſiuenes of mynd, or ẏ his fancie did deuine thynges to come, was continually troubled wyth viſions in his ſleape. He dreamed ẏ the Macedons campe was al on fire. And ſhortly after it ſeamed to him that Alexander was brought to hys preſence in ſuch kynde of apparail, as he him ſelf did weare, when he was firſt choſen Kyng, and ẏ Alexāder ſhould be caried on horſbacke through Babilon, and ſo vanyſhe out of ſyghte. Hereupon thinterpretours of dreames with the diuerſitie of theyr deuininge, dyd dryue Darius into diuers ymaginacions. Some ſayde hys dreame betokened good fortune to hym ſelfe, becauſe of the fyre that ſeamed to be in hys enemyes campe, and for that Alexander wythout eny veſtur of a king, appeared in the vulgare apparaile of the Perſians. Other dyd enterprete it otherwyſe: that the lyghtenynge in the Macedons campe, ſygnified glorye and vyctorye to Alexander

Meanynge Alexander.

Repentance taken to late.

Thymones

Pensyfnes.

Darius dreame.

der, and alſo thenioyment of the empire of Aſia: whych they made a cleare matter, for as much as Alexãder appered in the ſame veſtures that Darius ware when he was choſe king. Care beſides and trouble of mynd (as it often chaunſeth) brought things by paſt againe to remembraũce. It was reherſed howe Darius in the beginning of his reigne chaũged yͤ ſcabard of his ſword frõ the Percian maner, into the faſhiõ that the Greakes vſed. Wherupon the Caldies dyd prenoſticat that the kingdome of Perce ſhoulde be tranſlated to thoſe, whoſe faſhion he had counterfaited. Notwithſtandyng through the confidence of ſuch prophecies as were cõmonly ſowẽ abroade, and of the viſion that he ſeamed to haue ſene in his ſleape, became very mery, and commaunded his army to march forwardes to the riuer of Euphrates. It was the auncient cuſtome emongeſte the Perſians, at the ſunne riſing to rayſe their campe, and warning of their ſettyng forewardes to be geuen by the blaſt of a trompet ſowned at the kynges pauilion: vpon the which there ſtode an Image of the ſunne encloſed in chriſtal, ſhyning ſo bryght, that it might be ſene through out the cãpe. The order of their marchĩg was in this maner. The fire whiche they cal holie ⁊ eternall, was caried before vpon ſiluer aultares, and the prieſtes of their law went next ſinging after their coũtrey maner. There folowed. ccc.lxv. younge men in ſcarlet robes, like in nũbre vnto the dayes of the yeare. Then came the Chariote conſecrated to Iupiter drawen wyth whyte palfreis, a great horſe folowyng, whyche they cal the horſe of the ſun. Such as dyd ride vpon the palfreis dyd weare whyte garmentes, bearinge roddes of gold in theyr hands. Next in order came ten chariots garnyſhed and wrought with ſiluer and gold

prenoſticate.

The order of the Perciãs in their marchyng.

The horſemen of twelue nacions folowed next in ſondrie ſorte of armoure. Then came a company that the Percians call immortall, the riches of whoſe apparell, exceded farre yͤ reſt: thei had al cheines of gold, coates embrodered with gold, & ſleues ſet with Pearle. There folowed within a ſmale diſtans a band of .xv. thouſand called Dorypherii, reputed for the kinges kinſmē, which were diſguiſed in maner like women, more notable for their galantnes and varietie of apparel, thē for the armour they did weare. Such as were wont to receyue the kynges robes, dyd ryde next before the chariot, vpō yͤ which Darius did ſit on high, with great pompe and manificence: hys chariot beyng garniſhed on bothe ſides wͭ carued Images of their goddes made of ſiluer & gold. The Steame wherof was ſette with pearles and precious ſtones, wyth two Images of golde ſtanding therupō of a cubite lengthe, combattant one againſte the other, and ouer their heades an Egle of gold diſplayed. But emonges all the reſte the kinges apparaile ſhewed maruelous ſūptuouſe, which was of purple empaled white, wͭ a border embrodered of gold, faucons fighting togithers. He was girt effeminately wyth a gyrdle of gold, and the ſword that hong therupon, had the ſcabard made of a pearle. The diademe yͤ king ware vpon his head, called of the Percians Cydarys, had a roule about it of white and grene. Next behind the king came .x. thouſande horſemen, whyche had al their ſpeares plated with ſiluer, and their ſpeare heades gilded. He was encloſed on both ſydes with .cc of yͤ bloud roial, at whoſe backes there folowed .xxx. M fotemen, and after them .cccc. of the kinges courſers. Within the diſtance of one furlonge, Siſigambis the mother of Darius was caried in a wagon, and hys

Siſigambis Darius mother.

wife

wyfe in an other: the traine of their women riding on horſback. Next them wẽt .xv. wagons, wherin the kinges children were caried, their nurſes and Enuches, which are greately eſtemed in ẏ coũtrey. And after thẽ folowed .ccc. .lx. of the Kings concubines all apparelled like Quenes. Thẽ came .vi.c. mules and .ccc. Camels that caried the kynges treaſure, garded with a band of Archers. The wiues of the kinges kinſemen, and the other that were about the Kyng, came ridynge next, and after them a great companye of ſlaues and verlets. Laſte came the reward lightly armed, wherof euery captayne ſeuerally with his owne company cloſed in the armye, ſuch was the order of Darius hoſt.

A glorious shewe, so muche pompe, great riches, Litle manhode.

Alexanders army

But on the other ſide beholding Alexanders armye, there was to be ſene a great dyfference. Neither the men nor the horſe gliſtered ſo with golde nor precious furnimẽtes, but only wͭ the brightnes of their harneyes. But they were obediẽt at their captaines beck, alwaies in redines to ſtay or to paſſe forwardes, nether combred with ouer greate multitude, not peſtered with to much baggage. They wãted not in eny place either groũd for their encãping, or victuales for their feding, wherby their ſmalle numbre was alwayes ſufficient when they came to fyght. Wher as Darius the lorde of ſo huge a multitude, through the ſtreightnes of the ground, wherin he was driuen to geue battaille, could worke but theffect of a ſmall nombre, being the thyng which he before had diſpiſed in hys enemy. Alexander appoincted Abiſtamines the rule of Capadocia, ⁊ marching wͭ his armie towardes Cylicia, came to ẏ place called Cyrus Campe, because Cyrus lodged there, whẽ he paſſed into Licia againſt king Creaſus. This place was deſtant aboute .50. forlonges from the ſtreyght, entering into Cilicia. The countrey men vſe to call thoſe ſtreightes Pylae, where as the naturall ſcytuacion of the place, had made a fortification, as it were wyth mans handes. When Arſanes gouernour of Cilicia vnderſtode of Alexanders comming, remembrying what opiniõ Memnon was of in the beginning of the warres, put in executiõ his wyſe counſell when it was to late, waſting and deſtroieng throughout Cilicia, all ſuche thinges as he thought might ſtande his enemy in ſteade, leuing the countrey waſte, wyche he thought he was not able to defende: where as it had ben much better to haue taken the ſtreighte before his enemyes, where from the hilles lieng ouer the way, he myght without haſard, either haue letted his entreye, or els haue diſtreſſed him in his paſſing. But he leuing a ſmall nombre for the defence of the ſtreyght, retired hym ſelfe back to waſte the countrey, which hys parte had bene to defende from deſtructiõ. By his departure it came to paſſe that ſuche as he left behind, thynking them ſelues betrayed, woulde not ſoo muche as abide the ſight of their enemies, when a much leſſe nõbre had bene ſufficiẽt to haue kept the paſſage. For the ſcituaciõ of Cilicia is such, that it is enuironed rounde about with a continual rough and ſteape mountayne, whyche riſing from the ſea on the one ſyde, & fetching a compaſſe about, ioyneth againe wyth the ſea on the other ſyde. Throughe that parte of the mountayne, whych lieth furdeſt from the ſea, there be thre narow and rough paſſages, by one of the which they muſt entre, that will paſſe into Cilicia. The coũtrey towardes the ſea is plaine and ful of Riuers, emonges yͤ which two be notable, Pyramus, and Cydnus, but Cydnus moſte ſpecial, not ſo much for hys greatnes, as for the

fortification

Arſanes.

diſtreſſed.

The deſcripcion of Cilicia.

Pyramus.
Cydnus.

clearenes of hys water, whych from hys fyrſte ſpryng runneth pleaſaūtly through al the Countrey, and hath no other Riuer runnyng into hym to diſturbe ẏ pureneſ of hys ſtreame. For whiche cauſe it remayneth alwayes cleare, and alſo cold, by reaſon of the woodes that do ſhadowe all the banckes. Tyme hath conſumed many antiquetties within that countrey, which be remembred of the Poetes. There maie yet be ſene ẏ foundacions of the Cities of Lirneſſus, and Cebeſtus, with the caue and woode of Coricius where ſaffron groweth, wyth many other thynges whereof nothing remayneth, ſauing only the fame. When Alexander entred ẏ ſtreightes before mencioned, and behelde the ſcituacion of them, he neuer in all hys lyfe marueiled more at hys owne felicitie and good fortune: confeſſyng that it had not bene poſſible for hym to haue paſſed, if eny had ſtande at defence agaynſte hym, for that wyth ſtones only he myght haue bene deſtreſſed, the ſtreighte beſides being ſo narrow, that there could not paſſe aboue foure in a front. To thencreaſe of whych difficultye, the toppes of the mountaynes hong ouer the wayes, whyche in many places were broken and made holowe, with the ſtreames that ranne down from the hilles. Alexander ſente the Thracians that were lyghte armed, to ſtore and diſcouer the wayes, for feare the enemyes ſhould lye there in buſſhement, and ſodeynly breake forth upon hym. He appoyncted alſo a bād of Archers to take ẏ toppe of the hille, which were willed ſo to march, that they myght be alwayes in a redines to fyght. After this maner he came wyth his armye to the Cytie of Tarſon, whiche was ſet onfyre by the Percians, becauſe that Alexander ſhoulde fynde no herborowe there. But Permenio was ſent

Lyrneſſus.
Cebeſtus.
Coricius.

Alexander wondered at his owne good fortune.

Tarſon.

thether with a choyſe nomber of horſemen to quenche the fier. Who vnderſtandyng that the enemies were fled awaye through his cōming, entred into ẏ Cytie, and by that meanes ſaued it from burning. The Ryuer of Cydnus ſpoken of before, dyd runne through this Cytie, where the kyng arryued about myddaye, it beyng in the ſommer ſeaſon, what tyme the heate is no where more feruente then in that countrey. He toke ſuche delyghte in the pleaſauntnes of the water, that he woulde neades bathe his body, to waſhe awaye ẏ ſwette and duſt he had caught. And being in an heat entered naked into the water in euery mans ſyghte, thynking it ſhould be a contentacion to his ſouldiers, to ſe ẏ the furnimētes about his body were none other, but ſuche as they cōmonly vſed to weare. He was not ſo ſone entered, but all the partes of his body began to ſhake and trymble, his face waxed pale, and the liuelye heate was mortified in all partes of his body. His ſeruauntes toke hym vp and caried hym into his tent, as one beſides him ſelfe, & at the extreme poinct of death. Then there was a great deſolacion and heuines in ẏ campe, thei wepte, lamēted & bewayled, ẏ ſuch a king, ſo noble a captaine as had not bene ſene in eny age, ſhould thus be taken frō them in the chiefe of hys enterpriſe, and brunte of al hys buſines, and that after ſuche a maner, not in battaile ſlayne by his enemies, but thus caſt away bathing in a riuer. It greued them that Darius now being at hand ſhould obtaine ẏ victorie by ſuch a chaunce, without ſeing of hys enemy, & that they ſhould be enforced to retourne backe agayne as men vanquiſhed by thoſe countreis, through the whiche they had paſſed before as victorers. In whych countries all thinges being deſtroyed by them ſelues,

Cilicia a hot
Countrey.

Alexander.
by bathyng
in a Ryuer
became in
great periel
of hys life.

Greate lam
tacion [illegible]
[illegible].

or by

dyuers Imagina=
tions, entered
into the heade
of the multitude.

The wordes of Alexander to his frendes in his ſickenes

or by their enemies, it was of neceſſitie for them to dye for honger, though no mã ſhould purſue them. It became a queſtion emonges them ſelues who ſhoulde be their Capitayne in their flyeng away: or what he were that durſte ſuccede Alexander: And though thei might ſaufely arriue at the ſea of Helleſpont, yet who ſhould prepare them paſſage there. When they had diſputed theſe queſtions, their argument by and by was turned in compaſſion towardes their Prince, lamentyng as mẽ out of their wittes, that ſuche a floure of youth, ſuche a force of courage as was in hym, that the ſame their kyng and companion in armes, ſhould after this ſorte be taken from them. In the meane ſeaſon Alexãder begã to fetche his wynde ſomwhat better, & whẽ he came vnto him ſelfe, he lifted vp his eies and began to knowe his frendes that were about hym. That the vehemence of his ſicknes ſomwhat aſſuaged, was perceiued in that he began to vnderſtande the perille he was in. But the penſiuenes of hys minde was greate hinderaunce vnto his healthe, for tidinges came that Darius within fiue dayes would be in Cilicia, whiche was ŷ chiefe thing that mad him to ſorowe & lamẽt. He coulde not take it but greuouſly, that ſuche a victorye ſhould be plucked out of his handes through his infirmitie. And that he ſhould be taken as one tied in fetters, and be put to ſome ſhamefull and vile death. He called therfore to him both his frendes and Phiſitions, and ſayd vnto them: Ye ſe in what ſtate of my buſines fortune hath taken me. Me thinke the noyſe of myne enemies do ring in mine eares, and I whiche moued firſt the warre, am nowe chalenged & prouoked to the fyght. When Darius dyd wryte to me ſuche proude letters, he was not ignoraunt of myne eſtate. Yet peraduenture aduẽture he ſhalbe receiued, if I may vſe mine owne minde in recouerie of mine owne health. My caſe requireth no ſlacke medicines, nor ſlowe Phiſions, I had rather dye ſtoutely at once, then to conſume long tyme in my recouery. Wherfore if there be eny hope or cunning in phiſicke, let it be ſhewed. And thinke that I ſeke not remedie ſo much for mine own life, as I do for the care I haue to encountre wyth mine enemies. When they heard him ſpeake thoſe wordes, they were in great doubt of his ſodeine raſhnes, & therfore euery one required him apart, that he would not encreaſe his peril through eny haſt, but ſuffre him ſelfe to be ordred by the aduiſe of his Phiſiciõs. For thei alledged yͤ vnproued remedies were not ſuſpected of them without cauſe, ſeing his enemy had gone about to corrupt ſuch as were about hym, by promiſing a .M. talentes to his killer. which cauſe alledged, thei thought no mã would be ſo bold to make eny experiens of phiſicke vpõ him, which for the want of triall therof, myght in eny wyſe geue cauſe of ſuſpection. There was emongeſt the excellent phiſicions that came with Alexãder out of Macedon, one Philip of Acarnon, which was preferred to him for preſeruacion of his health, and had faithfullie ſerued him from his childhode, and therfore loued him with entire affection. He promiſed to prouide for the Kynge an approued remedye, but ſuche one as woulde worke vehemently, but by yͤ drinking therof, he doubted not, (he ſayd) but to expulſe the force of his diſeaſe. That promiſe pleaſed no mã, but only him which in the proufe wherof ſhould abide yͤ perill: For he coulde endure al things better then delay. Darius & his power were alwaies in his eye, & he had an aſſured cõfidence that yͤ victory ſhould fal on his ſide, if he might be able

Stoute corrage

Philip Alexanders phiſicion.

Alexanders imaginacion

but to ſtand in yͤ ſight of his men. The thing that only greued him, was that the Phiſitiō would not miniſter before the thyrde daye. In the meane ſeaſon Parmenio, whome of all hys nobilitie he truſted moſte, hadde exhorted hym by hys letter, that he ſhould not cōmitte him ſelfe to yͤ cure of Philip, for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thouſand talentes, and yͤ promiſe of hys ſyſter in mariage, Thoſe letters brought the king in great care and doubt, and moued hym to weye and pondre ſecretly wyth hym ſelfe, all thoſe thynges, that either feare or hope coulde put in hys heade. Shall I aduenture (thought he) to drinke this medicine? What if it be poyſon? ſhal I not then be accoūpted the cauſe of myne owne death? ſhall I ſuſpecte the fidelitie of my Phyſicion? or ſhall I ſuffre myne enemie to kyl me in my bedde? yet were it better for me to periſhe by other mens treaſon, then thus to dye through mine owne faynt harte. His minde being thus diuerſelye wrought, he would ſhewe the contentes of the letter to no man, but ſealed it wyth his owne ring, and layde it vnderneth his pillow. Two daies were paſſed in theſe Imaginacions, and the third daye the Phiſicion came to his beddes ſyde wyth the medicyne readye made. When the king ſawe him, he raiſed vp him ſelfe vpon his elbowe, and taking the letter in his lefte hand, with the other hande toke the cuppe, and ſtreyghte ſupped it of. When he had ſo done, he deliuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whyles he was readyng, he behelde hym continually in the face, ſuppoſing that if he had bene faultie, ſome tokē would haue appeared in his countenaunce. When Philip had redde the letter, he ſhewed more tokens of diſpleſauntnes then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vpon his knees, and ſaid:

Depende.

Sir, I ſe my lyfe doth depende vpon your health. but your recouerye ſhall declare that I am falſely charged with this treaſon: therfore when by my meanes you ſhall get your health, I truſte ye wil not then deny me my life. In the meane ſeaſon laye feare aſyde, and ſuffre the medicine to worke, and to haue hys operaciō. Kepe your mind quiet, and ſuffer not your ſelfe to be troubled with the ſuperſticious carefulnes of your frēdes, which though it proceadeth of good will, is notwithſtāding much impediment vnto your health. His wordes not onely ſatiſfied the kinge, but made hym to cōceiue perfit hope of his recouerie & ſaid vnto philip: If the goddes would haue grāuted yͤ to deuiſe a mean to proue the cōfidence I haue in the, & the good wil I beare the, thou couldeſt not haue choſē eny ſo good as this is: for notwythſtanding the letter, I dranke of the medecine, beleuing the to be no leſſe carefull for declaracion of thine owne trueth, then for my healthe, & therwith gaue hym his hād. Yet afterwardes whē yͤ medicine began to worke, it was ſuch in operaciō, yͭ it ſeamed to verefie Parmenios accuſemēt: for he fainted oft, & had much labour to drawe his breath. Then Philip left nothing vnproued or vndone yͭ might ſerue for his purpoſe. He layd warme clothes to hys body, & alwaies as he fainted, reuiued him againe with the ſauour of one thing & other. And whē he perceiued him once to come to him ſelfe, he ceaſed not to feade him wͭ talke, & one while put him in remēbraunce of hys mother and his ſiſters, and an other while of yͤ great victorie yͭ was at hand. Whē yͤ power of yͤ medicine was once entred into his vaines, there appeared ſtreighte in al partes of his bodi manifeſt tokens of health. Firſt quicknes came to the ſpirites, and after, the body recouered his ſtrength, a great deale ſoner then eny mā loked

Alexanders reconerie.

ked for. For the third day after he had bene in this caſe he walked in ẏ ſight of his ſouldiours, whych wonderfully reioyſed to ſee him. And they ſhewed no leſſe affection vnto Philip, whom euery one ſeuerally embraced & gaue hym thãkes, as if he had bene a God. It cã not be expreſſed beſides ẏ natural veneraciõ ẏ Macedons vſe to beare vnto their prince, in what reuerence they eſpecially had Alexander, and how feruently they loued him. Thei had conceiued of him an opinion that he could enterpriſe nothing, but that it was furthered by God, & fortune was ſo fauorable vnto him, that hys raſhenes was alwayes an encreaſe of his glory. Hys age beſides ſcarcely rype, & yet ſufficient for ſo greate thynges, dyd marueylouſly ſet forth all his doinges. And thinges which out of the warres ſhould be counted lightnes, are wont to be moſt acceptable to ẏ ſouldiers as thexerciſing of his body emonges thẽ, his apparell not differing from the cõmen ſort, with his courage & forwardnes in the fielde: whiche gyftes geuen him of nature, & thiges beſides done of policye, did get him both loue & reuerence of his people. Whẽ Darius hard of Alexanders ſicknes, he marched towardes the riuer of Euphrates wͭ al the haſt he could make, in cõueiyng of ſo cõbrouſe an army. He made there abridg, & in. v. daies paſſed ouer his people, hauing great deſire to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that time Alexander had recouered hys ſtrength, and was come to a Cytie called Solos, whiche the inhabytauute yelded vnto him, and for two hũdred talentes obtayned aſſurãce. Notwithſtãding he put a guariſõ in the Caſtle, and there celebrated playes, and triumphes whiche he had vowed to Aeſculapius, and Minerua, for the recouery of his health: Where being geuẽ ſo quietly to his paſtime

Solos.

paſtime, ſhewed howe little he eſtemed the comming of his enemies. Whiles Alexãder was buſied about theſe thinges, he receiued pleaſaũt newes, how his men had wonne a battaille of the Percians at Halicarnaſſus, and that the Myndians, and Cawnians, with diuers other nacions in thoſe partes were brought vnder his obediẽce. This triumphe once ended he remoued, and by a brydge made ouer the ryuer of Piramus, he came to the Citie of Malon: and from thence with an other remoue, came to a towne called Caſtabulon. There Parmenio returned to the kyng, which had bene ſent to ſearch the ſtreightes that lay betwene them and the Cytie of Iſſon. He had preuented the Percians at the paſſage, and ſo leauing men for the defence therof, toke the Citie of Iſſon that was left deſolate. He departed from thence and did driue the Perciãs out of the mountaines, ſearching & clearing al the waies. So yͭ hauing made al thinges ſure for tharmy to paſſe, he returned againe both the aucthour of the acte, and reporter of the thyng done. Alexãder encamped within the Citie, and there debated in cõſaile, whether it were better to paſſ on further, or els to tary there for a more power which was comming to him out of Macedõ. Parmenio was of opiniõ that this place was moſt meteſt to abide Darius, & geue him battaile, where both tharmies ſhould be of like force bi reaſõ of yͤ ſtreghtes, wherin no great multitude could fight at once. He ſhewed reaſons why they ought to eſcue the plaines, wherin their enemies ſhould haue great aduãtage through their great nõbre yͭ might encloſe thẽ about. Wherin (he ſaied) he doubted not his enemies ſtoutnes, but onely feared yͭ their owne men might be ouercome wyth werines, where a multitude ſhould fyght with a fewe, & freſhe men ſuccede

cede

Myndians.
Cawnyans.

Malon.
Caſtabulon

Iſſon.

Parmenios
opcnion.

Nonſermon vnder
reaſon, for either
thinge they ſpeake
or doe.

cede in the place of them that fainted. This counſaile was receiued for good, and Alexãder determined in yͤ ſame place to abide his enemies. There was in yͤ hoſt of yͤ Macedons one Syſenes a Percian, ſent before time from the gouernour of Egipt vnto king Philip: who being aduaunced with reward & promociõs, choſe to liue out of his owne cõutrey, & ſo folowing Alexãder into Aſia, was eſtemed emonges thoſe that yͤ king truſted well. A ſouldier of Create deliuered hym a letter from Nabarzanes Darius Lieutenaunt, wherin he exhorted him to do ſome notable enterpriſe, whereby he might wynne fauour & reputaciõ with Darius. Siſenes innocẽt of this matter, was about diuers times to preſẽt the letter to the king, but ſeing him occupied wͭ weyghty affaires of prouiſion for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whiles he waited for a more conuenient time he brought himſelfe in ſuſpiciõ of treaſõ. For the letter was brought to the kinges hãdes before it was deliuered vnto him: who readyng it, did ſeale yͤ ſame with a ſtraũg ſeale, and cauſed it to be deliuered to Siſenes, to proue therby his fidelitye. But becauſe he conſealed the thing many daies, and opened not the matter to the king, it ſeamed that he conſented thereunto: And therefore by the kynges commaundement he was put to death by the hand of yͤ Cretẽſians. The Greake ſouldiers whiche Thimodes had receyued of Pharnabaſus, beyng thoſe that Darius truſted moſt, were come vnto him. They perſwaded much Darius to retire backe into the playnes of Meſopotamia, and if he would not do ſo, that at the leaſt he ſhould deuide his power, and not cõmit the hole force of his eſtate to one ſtroke of fortune. This coũſaile was not ſo diſpleaſaunt vnto the Kyng, as it was to ſuch that were

about

Syſenes.

The conncealmt, of treaſon is perilous. & oft tymes doth bringe such to deathe, as are privye to hym.

The grekes aduiſe.

Good councell refused.

about hym: For they ſaied, mercinary ſouldiours were alwayes full of treaſon, and were to be doubted the more for that they counſayled the armye to be deuided, whyche was for no other purpoſe, but onlye that they myght haue commoditie to flee vnto Alexander, when they ſhoulde haue any charge committed vnto them. There is nothinge therefore more ſure for vs (quod they) then to encloſe them round about with our army, and to cut thẽ in peaces, for an enſample to the worlde, that treaſon ſhould neuer be lefte vnreuenged: But Darius whiche was of a meke and good dyſpoſicion, refuſed to commit ſo cruell an acte, in ſleyng ſuche as hadde betaken them ſelues to his truſte: For if we ſhoulde fyle oure handes (quod he) wyth their bloude, what ſtraunge nacion woulde euer then commytte them ſelues into our handes? alledgyng that there ought no man to loſe hys lyfe, for geuyng folyſhe counſayle. For who would be bolde to geue Counſayle, yf in counſaylyng there ſhoulde be eny peryll? I call you (quod he) to counſayle daily, and heare the diuerſitie of your opinions, and yet miſtruſte not them that geue me not alwaies the beſt counſaile. He cauſed the Greakes to be aūſwered, that he gaue them thãkes for their good will. But in retournyng backe (he ſaied) he ſhould geue vp him hys countrey into his enemies hãdes, which were not conuenient. And conſidering ẏ force ẏ fame is of in ẏ warre, in going back he ſhould appeare to flee. But to deferre the fyght he thought it worſte of al, ſeing ſo great an army as he had (the winter then approching) could not be vitailed in a deſolate cou̅trey, that had bene waſted both bi them ſelues and bi their enemies. And for the diuiding of his power, he ſhewed that he could not do it, obſeruing the cuſtomes

A ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~. A wicked councell.

Darius clemency.

Darius anſwere vnto his counſell

of hys predeceſſours, which were not wont to haſard ỹ battaille, but wt their hole power. He declared ỹ Alexāder before his cōming ſemed terrible to the world, and through his abſence was brought in a vaine preſumption. But after he ſawe him come forwardes, became ware & wel aduiſed, hiding hym in the ſtreyghtes of ỹ moūtaines, like thoſe coward beaſtes, which hearing ỹ noiſe of cōmers by, do hide them ſelues in ỹ dennes of the woodes. He hath blynded his ſouldiers (qd he) with his coūterfeit ſickenes, but nowe I wil not ſuffer him to prolōge the fight any lenger, whiche if he wil refuſe, I wil oppreſſe him in his lurking hole. Theſe wordes he ſpake with greate auaunt, thē truethe , and ſent his treaſure and Juelles wyth a ſmalle conuoye to Damaſco in Syria, and entred wyth hys armye into Cilicia, bringyng wyth hym according to hys countrey maner, both his mother, hys wyfe, his little ſonne, and his doughters. It chaūced the ſame night that Alexāder was come to the ſtreight entring into Siria, Darius came vnto ỹ place which thei call Pilae Amanicae: the Perciās not doubting at all, but that the Macedons would haue forſaken the Citie of Iſſon, and fled away for feare. For certaine of them ỹ were weake and could not folowe the army were taken, the whych Darius through inſtigation of the great men aboute him, raging in barbarous cruelty, cauſed their handes to be cut of, and to be ledde about his campe, to the entente they myght beholde the multitude of hys men, whō after ſufficient vewe takē he let thē go to ſhewe Alexander what they had ſene. Darius remoued and paſſed the ryuer of Piramꝰ, purpoſing to purſue after the Macedones which he thought had bene fleing awaye. They which had their handes cut of, came runnyng

Terrible

Pylae Amanicae.

Instigation

nyng in emonges the Macedons, declaring that Darius was comming in great haſte. There was ſcarſely eny credence geuen to their wordes, but to be ſure Alexãdar ſent ſpies towardes the Sea coaſt, to know whether Darius were there in perſone, or els had ſent ſome other to make a ſhewe of a power. The ſpyes retourning, dyd reporte that his whole armye was at hand, and ſtreyght wayes the fiers myghte be ſene, which gaue ſuch a ſhewe (by reaſon they lay ſtragling ſo farre abrode to get forage) as though the hole countrey had bene on fyre. When Alexander was aſſertayned of the truthe, he encamped in the ſame place where the tydynges came vnto hym, being maruaylous glad becauſe he knew he ſhould fight, ſpecially in ẏ ſtreightes, being the thing that he had alwayes deſyred. But as it is commonly ſene, when daūger and extremitie is at hand confidence is conuerted into feare. So he doubted not without greate cauſe, that fortune myght chaung vpō him, by whoſe fauour he had done ſo great actes, and conſideryd her mutabilitie by ſuch thinges, as ſhe had taken frō other, and geuen to him. He ſawe there was no prorogacion of ẏ time, but that after one night paſſed, the victory ſhould be determined, Yet on the other ſide, he called vnto remembraunce howe the reward enſuing of the victorye, farre exceaded the aduenture. For as the chaūce was doubtfull, ſo being dyſconfited, he was certaine to dye with honour and perpetuall prayſe. When he had waied theſe thinges, he gaue order that the ſouldiours ſhoulde refreſhe them ſelues, and at the thirde watche to be armed and in a redines to ſet forwardes. He him ſelfe went vp into ẏ toppe of a mountayne with many torches and lightes about hym, where he made ſacrifice vnto the goddes

after.

Straggelinge

In extremitie, confydence is turned to feare.

Alexanders Imaginaciō before the battaile.

Mutabillitie

prorogation

The heathen are verey re=ligiouse, and begynne all their enterpriſes wt ſacrifyce to there goddes.

after his countrey maner. And when the houre was come appoincted vnto the ſouldiers, at the thirde ſoūd of the trumpet, they were in a redines both to marche and fight. Then exhortacion was gyuen vnto them to paſſe on wyth bolde courage, and ſo by the ſpryng of the daye they were come to the ſtreightes, wherein their purpoſe was to preuente Darius. By that time ſuch as were ſent before to ſcowre the countrey, came in, and reported that the Perſians were wythin .30. furlonges. Then the battayles were ſtayed and ſet in ſuche ordre as they ſhoulde fyght. Lyke as Alexander was enfourmed of Darius, ſo he was aduertiſed of Alexander by the peaſantes of the coūtrey, which came fearfully runnyng vnto hym, declarynge that Alexander was at hande. Theſe wordes were not beleued, for thei could not thinke them to be comming, whom they thought before to be fledde. But when thei perceiued that it was ſo in dede, becauſe they were in better order to purſue their enemies, then to encoūtre with them in battaile, they were ſtriken with a maruellous ſodeine feare. Euery man toke him to his armour in haſte, whyche haſte and the callyng that one made vpon an other, did put a greater feare emonges them. Some ran vp to the toppes of the hilles to view the Macedons, other fel to bridling their horſes. So that the hoſte ful of diuerſitie, and not ruled by eny certain gouernement, with their hurly burley, put all thinges out of ordre. Darius at the firſt had apoincted one part of his power to take the mountayne, whyche ſettynge vpō his enemies backes, myght encloſe them both behynde and before: and aſſigned an other company to paſſe alonge the ſea ſyde which was on the right hand, to kepe his enemies doyng on euery parte. He gaue or-

Stoutnesse is turned to feare, when thinge do happen vpon the ſodden.

The ordre that Darius gaue for the battaile.

dre alſo that .xx. thouſand fotemen wyth a bande of archers ſhould paſſe the ryuer of Pyramus, and geue an onſet that way. But if they found eny impedimēt why they might not do ſo, then he willed thē to retire emonges the mountaines, & inuade theyr enemies on theyr backes. But fortune whych was of greater force then eny policie, determined thoſe things that were wel deuiſed, according as ſhe thought good. For ſome durſte not for feare execute the thing that was commaunded them, and then the reſt worked in vayne, for where the mēbres faile, the whole body is confounded. The ordre of Darius army ſtode thus aranged to fight: his power being deuided into two battailes one marchynge on ÿ lefthand, and the other on the ryght. Nabarzanes empaled the battaile on the right hand with a great power of horſmē, and .xxx. thouſand Slingers and Archers. Thymones was alſo in ÿ battaile wyth .xxx. thouſand mercenary Greakes, being in very dede Daris chiefeſt force: a power equal vnto Phalanx of the Macedons. In the battaile on the lefte hand Ariſtomenes was in the forefront with .xxx. M. fotemen, hauing plāted for his ſuccour & relief, ſuche naciōs as were coūted moſt valiaunt. There were about the kynge beynge alſo in that battaile, thre thouſand choyſe horſemen, that were of the ordinary guarde of hys perſone, and .xl. thouſād fotemen, wyth the horſemen of Hyrcany and Medya, and the horſemen of other nacions were wynges on bothe ſydes. And beſydes theſe numbres, there wente before thys battaile in a forlorne hoope .vi. thouſande Slingers and caſters of dartes. Al the plaine ground betwene the ſtreightes was filled with men of warre, and Darius battaile ſtode aranged from the mountaine downe to the Sea ſyde. The mother and wyfe

yf the members faile the bodie is confounded.

The order of the Perſians.

Empaled

Mercenarie souldiours.

forefront.

Horsmen then mingled.

Aranged.

of Darius wyth al the flockes of women, were receyued into the myddes of the battaile. Alexander on the other ſyde ſet hys ſquare battayle of footemen called Phalanx (beynge the Macedons chiefeſt force) in the fore frõt. Nycanor the ſõne of Parmenio was captaine of the battaile on the ryght hand, and with hym Cenos and Perdicas; Meleager, Tholomeus, and Amintas were ioyned euery one with his own band. Parmenio and Caterus hadde the rule of the battaile on the lefte hand, which ſtretched towardes the Sea, but Parmenio had the chiefe charge. Horſmen were ſet in winges to both thoſe battailes. The Macedon men, and Theſſalien horſemen beyng appointed to the ryghte hande battaile, and the horſmen of Peloponeſe to the battaile on the other ſide, before which battaile, there were alſo ſet ſlingers with archers emongeſt them, and the Cretencians that were lightly armed, went before yͤ maine battaile. The bande of Agrians that were lately come out of Greace, were aſſigned to encountre with thoſe yͭ Darius had ſent to take the top of the mountaine. He willed Parmenio that as much as he might, he ſhould ſtretch out his bãd towardes the ſea, to wythdrawe ſo far as he could frõ the hilles, whiche the enemies had taken. But ſuch as had direction by Darius to take the hilles, neyther durſt reſiſt ſuch as came againſt them, nor yet compaſſe about ſuche as were paſſed by them, but fled away at the firſt ſight of the Slingers. Which thing chaunſed wel for Alexander, for it was the thing that he doubted moſt, that thei from the higher ground ſhould inuade the open ſide of his battaile, whyche lay vnflãcked towardes them. The Macedons marched xxxii. in a ranke, for the ſtreightnes of the groũd wold not ſuffer thẽ to go eny broader, but by little and little

The order of the Macedons.

32. In a ranke

as the playne betwene the mountaynes began to enlarge, ſo they had libertie both to make their battayles broader and alſo for the horſemen to marche vpon the ſydes. Whē both the battailes were come within ſight togethers, the Percians fyrſt gaue a terrible and rude ſhoute, whych was agayne doubled of the Macedons, not wyth their nūbre which were farre inferioure vnto the Percians, but wyth the rebounde of the hylles and the rockes, whych doubled euerye voyce of theirs. Alexander did ride vp and downe before the frontes of his battailes, makinge a ſygne to hys ſouldiours wyth his hand, that they ſhould not make ouer much haſte to ioyne with their enemies, for bringīg thē ſelues out of breath. And as he paſſed by, he vſed to euery naciō ſondry exhortacions, as he thought mete for theyr diſpoſicions and qualitie. He put the Macedons in remembraunce of their olde prowes and mãhode, with the nūbre of battailes that they had wonne in Europe, howe that they were come thether aſwell by theyr owne deſires as by his cōduct, to ſubdue Aſia and yͤ vttermoſt boundes of the Orient. He ſhewed thē to be the people that were ordeyned to conquere the world and to paſſe the boundes both of Hercules & Bachus. He declared that both Bactria and Inde ſhuld be theirs, in reſpect of which the countries that they had ſene were but trifles, & yet were to be gotten al wͭ one victory: wherein (he ſaid) their trauaile ſhould not be in vaine, as it was in the barreine rockes of Illiria or in the mountaynes of Thrace, but yͭ in this cōqueſt the ſpoile of the whole Orient was offred vnto them. For the getting wherof they ſhuld ſcarſely nede to occupie their ſwordes, ſince the battailes of their enemies wauered ſo already for feare, that with their approche only they ſhould put thē

The exhortacions that Alexander gaue vnto his ſouldiours.

The macedons.

to flight. He reduced his father Philip vnto their memory, how he cõquered the Atheniãs with the coũtrey of Boetia, where he raſed to the ground the noble citie of Thebes. After that he made rehearſal of the battaile wonne at the ryuer of Granikke, and of all the Cytyes that he had taken, or that had bene youlden vnto hym, with the countreis thei had paſſed through & ſubdued. When he came vnto the Greakes, he deſired them to cal to mynde the greate warres that had bene made agaynſt their countrey in tymes paſt by the Percians. Fyrſte by the pride of the Xerxes, and after by Darius, who made deſtruction both by water and land in ſuch ſort, that the riuers could not ſerue them of drynke, nor the earth of victualles for to eate: rehearſyng alſo how the temples of their Goddes had bene by them poluted and put to ruine, their Cyties ouerthrowen, and the truces and promiſes by them violated and brokẽ, that were confirmed both by deuine and humayne lawes. When he paſſed by the Illirians and Thracians whiche were accuſtomed alwayes to lyue vpon thefte, and ſpoyle: he bade them behold their enemies which gliſtered wyth gold, and bare no armour, but ſpoyle for them to take. He encouraged them to go forwardes like mẽ, and plucke the praie from thoſe effeminate womẽ, and to make exchaunge of their craggye rockes and bare hilles alwayes ful of ſnowe, for the plentiful groundes and ryche landes of Perce. By the tyme he had made theſe exhortacions, they were come wythin throwe of their dartes. And Darius horſemen gaue a fierce charge vpon the right hand battaile of ẏ Macedons. For Darius deſire was to trie the battaile by horſmẽ, iudgyng (as it was in dede) that ẏ chiefeſt power of his enemies conſiſted in their ſquare battaile of footemẽ. So that ẏ

battaile

2 The grekes.

3 Illirians and Thracians: vse to lyue by thefte & spoile.

Craggie.

The battaile betwixt Darius and Alexander battaile where Alexāder remained, was brought to the pointe of encloſyng aboute, if he had not perceiued the ſame in time, who cōmaunded two tropes of his horſemen to kepe the top of the hil, & brought al the reſt to ẏ encounter of his enemies. Then he cōueied the Theſſalien horſmē from the place where they ſtode to fight, willing their captaine to bring thē about behinde ẏ batailes, & there ioyning with Parmenio, to do the thyng manfully that he ſhould appoint thē. By this the Phalanx of the Macedons in maner encloſed aboute wyth their ennemies, foughte notably on all partes, but they ſtode ſo thick, & were ſo ioyned one to another, that ther wanted ſcope to welde their dartes. They were ſo mingled together, that in caſtinge one letted another: very fewe lighted vpō the enemies with weake dintes, & the moſt part fel on the groūd without harme doing, wherfore being enforced to ioyne hand for hand, they valiaūtly vſed the ſworde. Then there was great effuſiō of bloud, for both the armies cloſed ſo neare, ẏ their harneis claſhed together, weapon againſt weapon, and foined one at anothers face wyth their ſwordes. Ther was no place for the fearful or ẏ coward for to fle back, but ech ſet his fote to other, & by fighting kept ſtil their place, til thei could make their way by force, & ſo alwaies paſſed forwards, as they had once ouerthrowē their eenemies. As thei were weried & trauailed thus wͭ fighting, they wer euer receiued with freſh enemies: & ſuch as were wounded might not depart out of the battayle (as it hath bene ſene els where) their enemies aſſailed them ſo fierſly before, and their fellowes thruſte on ſo hard behinde. Alexander that day dyd not onely ſuche thynges as pertayned to a Capitayne, but aduentured

Effusion of bloud.

Oxatres Darius brother.

him ſelfe as far as eny priuate ſouldier, couetyng by al meanes to kyl Darius, which he eſtemed the greateſt honour. Darius dyd ride alofte vpon hys chariote, geuing great prouocation both to his enemies to aſſayle him, and for his owne men to defend him. As Oxatres his brother appeared moſt notable emonges them al in his furniture and perſonage, ſo in hardines and affection towardes the kyng, he exceaded farre the reſt, ſpeciallye in that caſe of neceſſitye. For when he ſawe Alexander approche ſo neare, he thruſt in before Darius with the band of horſemen whereof he had the charge, where as ouerthrowing diuerſe, he put many to flight. But the Macedons ſwarmed ſo about the kinge, and were in ſuch a courage by the exhortaciõ that eche made to other, ẏ they charged againe vpõ ẏ band of horſmẽ. Then the ſlaughter was great, & the ouerthrowe manifeſt. About the chariot of Darius, ẏ nobleſt of hys captaines lay dying honourably in ẏ ſight of their prince. For lyke as they receyued their deathes woundes, ſo they fel without tourninge of theyr backes. Emonges them Atycies, Romythres, & Sabaces gouernoure of Egipt, hauing the charge of great numbres of menne, were ouerthrowen and ſlaine, and about thẽ there lay by heapes a huge numbre of the vulgare ſorte, both of horſemen and fotemen. Of the Macedons alſo ſome were ſlayne, ſpecially of ſuch as preſſed moſt forward, emonges whom the ryght ſhoulder of Alexander lytely was hurte wyth a ſworde. In thys thronge the horſes that drue Darius Chariot, were thruſte in wyth pikes, whych beyng woode for payne of theyr woundes, began to ſtruggle and ouerthrowe theyr maiſter. He fearyng therefore to be taken a lyue, leaped downe and was ſet vppon a ledde horſe, and ſo fledde, awaye caſtyng

Thronge

Struggle.

flyng hys diademe from hys head, becauſe he wold not be knowen. Then al hys men for feare diſparcled, flyinge by ſuch wayes as were open for them, and threw awaye their armoure, whyche before they hadde taken for their defence : Suche a thynge is feare, that refuſeth the thynge that ſhoulde be hys ſaueguarde. When Parmenio ſawe them flee, he ſtreyghte commaunded the horſemē to purſue them in the chaſe, and put al hys ennemies to flyght that were on that part. But on the other hand, the Percians dyd put the Theſſalien horſmen to a ſore ſtreſſe: for at the firſt ſhocke they had broken one of theyr tropes, yet for al that whē the Theſſalians ſawe theyr enemies paſſe through them, they cloſed them ſelues together agayne and charged vpō the Percians, who by reaſon of their onſet geuynge, and for that they thought them ſelues ſure of the victorye, became cleane out of order, and were ouerthrowē with greate ſlaughter. The Theſſaliens had herein a great aduantage, by reaſon that the Percians beſydes that they be armed thēſelues, haue their horſes alſo barbed wyth plates of ſtele, whyche was the cauſe they coulde not, eyther in the onſet, or retire be ſo quick as yͤ Theſſalians were: for by theyr celeritie, wherin the feate of horſemen chiefly conſiſte, they had ouerthrowen many of them, before they coulde tourne theyr horſes aboute. When Alexander vnderſtode that hys men preuayled of their enemies on that parte lykewyſe, was bold thē to folowe in the chaſe, whyche he durſt not do before he knewe yͤ battaile to be clearely wōne, & thennemies repulſed on al ſides. Alexander had not about him aboue a. M. horſemen, wyth whom he ſlewe innumerable of hys ennemies. For who is he that in an ouerthrowe or a chaſe can nūbre men? Thoſe few Macedōs did dryue

Darius ouer throwen.

diſparcled.

Amyntas.

the multitude of their enemies before thẽ lyke ſhepe. & the ſame feare that cauſed thẽ flee, ſtaied thẽ likewiſe in their flieng. The Grecians ỹ were on Darius ſide, vnder their capitaine Amintas (which ſometime had bene in great aucthoritie with Alexander, but then agaynſte him) brak out from the reſt and marched away in ordre of battaile. All the reſt fled diuerſe waies, ſome directly towardes Perce, and ſome by pathes, and priuy wayes, eſcaped by the mountaines and the wodes. A few ther were ỹ recouered their former cãpe, whiche they coulde not defẽd eny time againſt the Macedons ỹ were victours, but the ſame immediatly was wonne, beinge haboũdant of al ryches, of gold and ſiluer, appertayning not only to the warres, but to al voluptuouſnes and exceſſe: which riches whiles the ſouldiers violently ſpoiled, they ſtrowed the waies full of packes and fardels, which they would not touch, in reſpect of the couetous deſire they had to thinges of greater valew. But when thei came vnto the women, as their tirementes were moſt precious ſo the more violẽtly they pluked them away, and their bodies were not fre frõ their luſte & enforcement. The cãpe euery where was full of tumulte and lamentaciõ, as chaũce fel to eche one. The licenciouſnes of the victorers was ſuch, ỹ their crueltie raged vpon all ages and kinde of creatures, and no kynde of miſchiefs wanted emonges them. There myght haue bene ſene the variablenes of fortune, when they whyche had prepared Darius pauilion wyth al kynde of delicacie and riche furniture, reſerued and kept the ſame for Alexander as for theyr olde mayſter. For the Macedons hadde lefte that vnſpoyled accordynge to their auncient cuſtome; whyche are euer wonte to receyue theyr kynge when he is vyctorious, into the

kynges

In the victories
there is seldome
seene, either mercie
honestie, or pittie,
no regard of god,
but euerie man
satisfieth his
owne luste.

kinges pauilion that he hath vainquiſhed. The mother and wife of Darius that were there taken pꝛiſoners, moued all men to caſt their eyes and inwarde contemplacion towardes them, wherof the one deſerued to be reuerenced foꝛ the maieſtye that was in her, and foꝛ her age, and the other foꝛ the excellencye of her beauty, whiche thꝛoughe her miſaduenture was nothing ſtayned. She was ſene embꝛacyng her little ſonne in her armes, not yet of the age of ſixe yeares, boꝛne as enheritour to the dominiō which his father newly had loſt. There laye alſo two yong virgines in their grandmothers lappe, euē then mariable, which lāguiſhed ⁊ lamēted not ſo much thꝛough their owne pꝛiuate ſoꝛowe, as foꝛ the doloꝛouſnes of the old womā. About the mother and the wife were a great numbꝛe of noble womē that pulled their heere and tare their clothes, without reſpect what apperteyned to their eſtate. Who vnmindfull of the fall Darius wife and his mother were come vnto, called theim ſtyll by the name of Quenes, wyth ſuche other titles of honoure as they did befoꝛe. They all foꝛgettyng their owne miſerie, were diligent to enquyꝛe the Foꝛtune of the fielde, and what ſucceſſe the battayle had where Darius was. Foꝛ if he were a lyue (they ſaied) they coulde in no wiſe thinke theim ſelues pꝛiſoners. But he by ẏ chaunging of many hoꝛſes, was by that time fledde farre awaye. There were ſlayne of the Percian fotemenne a hundꝛed thouſande, and ten M. hoꝛſmen. And of Alexanders company onely. 504 hurt, and. xxxii. fotemen, and. cl. hoꝛſemen killed. So greate a victoꝛye was gotten with ſo ſmalle a loſſe. Alexander that was weried with purſuyng of Darius, when he perceiued the night to drawe on, ⁊ that there was no hope to ouertake him whom he folowed, returned

Darius mother, his wife, ⁊ his children takē pꝛiſoners

fortune is variable, the god disposeth all thinge at his pleasure. He d exalteth, downe one and setteth vp an other.

110000. slaine of the persians

The nūber of thē that were ſlain:

of Alexanders men 504, hurte, 32 fotemen, and 150 horssemen slaine.

ned into the Percians campe, which a little before his comminyng was taken by his men. That night he made a banquet to ſuch as he accuſtomed to call, for the hurt of his ſholder, wherof the ſkynne was but ſmally periſhed, letted him not to kepe companye. As they ſate at meate, ſodainely thei heard a pitifull crye, ẘ a ſtraung howling ⁊ lamentation, that put them al in great fear: Inſomuche that the bande that kept the watche about the Kynges Pauilion, fearyng it to be the beginnyng of ſome greater matter, began to arme thē ſelfes. The wife ⁊ mother of Darius, with the other noble women newly taken priſoners, were the cauſe of this ſodayne feare, by lamentynge of Darius, whom they ſuppoſed had ben ſlaine. Which opinion they conceiued through one of the Enuches, whiche ſtanding before their tent dore, ſaw a ſouldier cary a parcel of Darius Diademe, whiche he a little before had caſt from his head. When Alexander vnderſtode their erroure, wepte (as it was ſaied) to cōſider Darius miſfortune, and the womens affection towardes him. And for their comfort, ſent to them one Mithrenes yͭ betraied Sardes, who was expert in the Percian toung, but yet cōſideryng that the ſight of him beyng a traitour, ſhold but encreaſe their ſorow, ſent a noble man called Leonatus, to declare to them howe they were deceyued, and that Darius was aliue. He came towardes the tente where the women were, with certaine men in harnayes, and ſent worde before, that he was come thither from the kyng. But when ſuche as ſtode at the tent dore ſawe armed men comminyng, ſuppoſyng their errande had bene to murther their miſtreſſes, ranne in to theim, and cryed out that their laſt houre was come, for the menne were at hande that were ſent to kyl thē. The ſeruauntes ther-

fore

Alexander wept for Darius misfor-tune.

Mithrenes.

Leonatus.

fore, that neither durſte let Leonatus in, nor kepe hym out, brought him no aunſwere, but remayned quietlye to ſee what he woulde do. When Leonatus had long taried at the dore, and ſawe none came forth to cal him in, left his men without, and entred emonges the women. Whoſe commyng vnto theim before he was admitted, was the thyng that feared thē moſte of all. The mother therfore and wyfe of Darius fel downe at his feete, requiryng hym that before they were ſlayne, he woulde ſuffer theim to burye Darius after hys countrey maner: whiche laſt obſeruaunce perfourmed, they were content (they ſaied) gladlye to ſuffer death. Leonatus aſſured them that bothe Darius was aliue, and that there was no harme towardes theim, but ſhoulde remayne in the ſame eſtate they were in before. Whē Siſigambis heard thoſe wordes, ſhe ſuffred her ſelfe to be lift vp from the ground, and to receiue ſome comforte. The next daye Alexander with greate diligence, buried the bodyes of ſuche of his owne men as coulde be found, & willed the ſame to be done to the noble men of the Percians, geuyng licence to Darius mother to burye ſo manye as ſhe liſte, after the cuſtome of her countrey. She perfourmed the ſame to a fewe that were nexte of her kynne, accordyng to the habilitye of her preſēt fortune, for if ſhe ſhould haue vſed the Percians pompe therin, the Macedons myght haue enuied it, whiche beyng victorers, vſed no great curioſitie in the matter. When the due was perfourmed to the dead, Alexander ſignified to the women priſoners, that he him ſelfe woulde come to viſite them, and cauſyng ſuch as came with hym to tarye without, he onely with Epheſtion entred in emonges them. The ſame Epheſtion of al men was moſt dear vnto Alexāder, brought

The ende of one ſorrowe was the beginninge of an other.

The Perſians vſed to burie theire deade with greate pompe.

The macedons vſe no greate curioſitie in buriall of theire deade.

Epheſtion.

vp in his companye from his youthe, and moſte priuye with him in all thinges. There was none that hadde ſuche libertye to ſpeake his mynde plainelye to the kynge as he hadde, whiche he vſed after ſuche ſorte, that he ſeamed to do it by no auctoritye, but by ſufferaunce. And as he was of lyke yeares vnto him, ſo in ſhape and perſonage he did ſomewhat excell hym.

Epheſtion some one is in greatest fauore wt the prynce.

Wherfore the the women thinkynge Epheſtion to be the kyng, did fall downe and worſhyppe him (as their countrey maner was to do to kynges) tyll ſuche tyme as one of the Enukes that was takē priſoner, ſhewed which of them was Alexander. Then Siſigambis fel downe at his fete, requiryng pardon of her ignorāce, forſomuche as ſhe did neuer ſee him before. The kyng toke her vp by the hand, and ſaied: mother, you be not deceiued, for this is Alexander alſo. Which his humilitie & cõtinencie of mind if he had cõtinually obſerued to his latter dayes, he might haue bene thought much more happier then he was, when ẏ he hauyng ſubdued all Aſia from Helleſpont to the Occean ſea, did counterfeite the triũphes of Bacchus. Or if that emonges the reſte of his conqueſtes, he would haue laboured to conquere his pride and his yre, beynge vices inuincible. Or if in his dronkennes he would haue abſtayned from the ſlaughter of his nobilitye, and not to haue put to death thoſe excellēt men of warre without iudgmēt which helped him to cõquere ſo many naciõs But at this tyme the greatnes of his fortune had not yet altred his nature, though afterwards he could not bear his victories with that vertue he did winne them. Then he behaued him ſelfe after ſuch a maner, that he exceaded in cõtinencie & compaſſion, all ẏ kinges that had ben before his time. He enterteined ẏ two quenes

Sisigambis

A digreſſion

pryde, and yre, beynge vices inuincible.

Alexanders cõtinency & clemencye

with thoſe virgynes that were of excellent beautye, ſo reuerently, as if they had bene his ſiſters. He not only abſteyned from all violaciō of Darius wife, whiche in beauty excelled al the women of her time, but alſo toke great care & diligence, that none other ſhould procure her to eny diſhonour. And to all ỹ women he cōmaunded their ornamentes & apparaile to be reſtored. So ỹ thei wāted nothing of the magnificēce of their former eſtate, ſauyng only ỹ aſſured cōfidence that creatures want in miſerye. Whiche thinges conſidered by Siſigambis, ſhe ſaied vnto the king: Sir your goodnes towardes vs, doth deſerue, ỹ we ſhould make the ſame prayer for you, that we did ſometime for Darius, & we perceiue you worthy to paſſe ſo great a king as he was in felicitie and good fortune, that abounde ſo in iuſtice and clemencie. You vouchſafe to call me by the name of mother and of Quene, but I confeſſe my ſelfe to be your handmaide. For bothe I conceyue the greatnes of my eſtate paſt, and fele that I can beare this preſēt ſeruitude. It lieth onely in your handes how we ſhall be dealte withall, and whether you wyl make vs notable to the worlde, throughe your clemencye or crueltye.

Siſigambis wordes vnto Alexāder

The king comforted theim all he myght; and wyllyng theim to be of good cheare, toke Darius ſonne in hys armes. Therat the childe was nothyng afrayed hauyng neuer ſene him before, but toke & embraced him about the necke. He was ſo moued with the conſtancie of the childe, that he beheld Epheſtion and ſaide: oh I woulde that Darius had had ſome part of this gentle diſpoſition. When he was departed from thence, he cauſed thre aultares to be made vpon the riuer of Piramus, and there did ſacrifice to Iupiter, Hercules, & Minerua, and ſo wente forwardes into Siria.

Syria.

He

Damaſco.

Mardus.

He ſent Parmenio before to Damaſco, wheras Darius treaſure did remayne: who vnderſtandynge by the waye that Darius had ſent one of his nobles thither, fearyng that for the ſmalnes of his owne numbre the Damaſcẽs would kepe him out, determined to ſẽd for a greater power. But by chaunce one Mardus fel into the handes of the horſemen ẏ he had ſent before to ſcoure the countrey, whiche beyng brought before Parmenio, deliuered hym the letters that the capitain of Damaſco hadde ſente to Alexander, and beſides the letters, added of him ſelfe, that he doubted not but all Darius riches and his treaſure ſhoulde be deliuered to hym at hys arriuall. Parmenio gaue the charge to certayne of his menne for his ſure kepynge, and then opened the letters, wherin it was conteined ẏ Alexander in all haſte ſhoulde ſende one of his capitaines thither with a ſmall power. Whiche thing knowẽ, he ſent Mardus backe againe to Damaſco, with certayne to accompanye him, but he eſcaped out of their handes, & came to Damaſco before daye lyght. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubtyng ẏ his enemies had layed ſome embuſhment for him, & therfore durſte not go an vnknowen waye without a guide. Yet notwithſtandyng vpon the confidence he had in the felicity of of his prince, toke peaſantes of the coũtrey to conducte him the way, which the .iiii. daye brought him to the citie of Damaſco. The captaine doubtyng that credẽce ſhould not be geuen to his letter, pretended to miſtruſt the ſtrength of ẏ towne, & made coũtenaũce as though he would fle away. By the ſpring of the daye he cauſed Darius treaſure (whiche the Percians call Gaza) with the reſte of all his precious thinges to be brought forth of the towne, of purpoſe to betraye the ſame into the

Macedons handes. There were many thouſandes of menne and women that folowed, a pitious ſight to all that ſawe them, ſauyng to him, to whoſe fidelitie they were committed. For he to wynne him ſelfe thancke, purpoſed to deliuer to hys enemyes, a praye more precious then al the reſte, which were ſuch of the nobilitie as he hadde in keping, wyth the wiues and children of great men ỹ bare rule vnder Darius. And beſides the Embaſſadors of the cities of Grece, whō Darius had lefte in the traytours handes, as in a fortreſſe (to hys thinkyng) of moſte ſuertye. The Percians call thoſe Gangabe, that carye burthens vpon their ſhoulders, who hauynge the cariage of thynges of moſte value, when they could not endure the colde for the froſt and ſnowe that ſodaynly fell, they put vpon them the robes of clothe of golde & purple, whiche they caried wrapt vp together with the money, there beyng no mā to let thē, for the aduerſitie of Darius cauſed that baſe ſorte of men to vſe a licencious libertye. Thoſe kynde of men ſemed to Parmenio at the firſt ſight to be no ſmall armye, & therfore reguarded not the matter lightely, but gaue exhortaciō to thoſe ỹ were wᵗ him, as though they ſhould haue fought a ſore battayle, and willed theim to put their ſpurres to their horſe, and geue the charge: Whiche thynge perceiued by theim that bare the burdeynes, fledde away for feare, and ſo did the menne of warre that were wyth theim, by ſuche wayes as they beſt knewe. The captaine of Damaſco counterfeityng ſuche feare as other feared in dede, was the cauſe of all this confuſion. The riches of Darius was lefte alone, & laye ſparkeled abroade ouer all the fieldes, with the money that was prepared for the wages of ſo infinite a numbre of ſouldiours, and alſo the apparail of ſo

The captaine of damasco, a traitor to his prince.

many great men and noble women, veſſell of golde, golden furnimẽtes for horſes, pauilions adorned with regall magnificence, and Wagons ful of infinite riches. A thing euen ſorowfull to behold to the ſpoylers, if eny thing could ſtaye the couetouſnes of men. Was it not a pitifull thing to beholde, the riches that hadde bene gathered together in ſo great numbre of yeres, whiles the ſtate of the Percians ſtode in that incredible height of fortune, one part to be torne with buſhes and an other drowned in the myre, it beyng ſo greate beſides, that the hãdes of ỹ ſpoylers could not ſuffice for the ſpoyle. When the horſemen had ouertaken thẽ that fledde firſt they founde diuers women haryinge of the ſmall children, emonges whom, there were four virgines, the doughters of Occhus, that reigned next before Darius. They before that tyme hadde ſuffered chaunge of fortune, when the ſtate was altered from their fathers lyne. But this aduerſitie was much more greuous vnto them. There was in this flock the wife of Occhus, the doughter of Oxatrix that was Darius brother, and the wife of Artabaſus whiche was of the heade houſe of Percia, with his ſonne alſo called Ilioneſus. The wife and the ſonne of Farnabazus were alſo taken, to whom Darius had cõmitted the charge of all the ſea coaſtes, and wyth theim the thre doughters of Mentor, the wife and the ſonne of the noble captain Mẽnon. There was ſcarcely eny houſe of the nobilitie of Perce free from that euyll aduenture.

Occhus king before Darius.

There were bothe Lacedemonians and Athenians, that contrarye to the league betwene Alexander and them, toke Darius parte. Emonges the Athenians Ariſtogiton, Dropides, and Leuertes were of moſte notable fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians the chiefeſt were Perdippus and Onomaſtorides with Omanys & Callicratides. The ſumme of the coyned money there taken, was two thouſād .lx. talentes, and of maſſy ſiluer .v. hundred talentes. Beſide .xxx. thouſande men, and .vii. thouſande beaſtes that caried burdeynes on their backes. But the Goddes did perſecute with due puniſhment the betrayer of ſuche a treaſure. For one whom he hadde made priuye to the matter, pitiyng therin the eſtate of his Prince, did ſlea the traytoure, and brought his heade to Darius. A comfort not vnapt for the tyme to the betrayed kyng. For therby he was both reuenged of his enemye, and perceiued that the memorye due vnto his eſtate, was not growen out of all mens hartes.

The ſumme of the treaſure taken at Damaſco

2060. talentes & of massye silver 500 Talentes. 30000 men, that bare burdens. & 7000 beastes that caried burdens.

A rewarde too good for suche a villaine.

The fourth boke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the greate Alexander, kyng of Macedon.

Darius whiche a little before was Lorde of ſo great an army, and that came vnto the fielde carried alofte vpõ his chariot, more like to triumphe then to fight: fled by yͤ places thẽ waſt and deſerte, whiche he before had filled with his infinite numbres of men of warre. There were but fewe that folowed hym, for neither they fled al one way, nor ſuch as folowed could kepe pace with him that ſo oftẽ chaũged horſes. At lẽgth he came to Unchas where he was receiued of .iiii. M. Grekes, whych cõducted him to the Ryuer of Euphrates, thinking all ſuch his countreys to be loſte, in the whyche he coulde not preuente Darius by haſte making. Parmenio was appoĩted gouernour of Siria, and to be the keper of the treaſure and priſoners whiche he toke at Damaſco. The Sirians could not at the firſt beare their newe gouernemente, becauſe they hadde not yet felte the ſcourge of the warres: but as they reuolted, they were ſtreyghtwaye ſubdued, perfourmyng all yͤ they were appointed to do. The Ile of Arade was yeldẽ to Alexãder, whereof Strato was kyng, that had in ſubiection all the ſea coaſt, with diuers of the inland countries, who ſubmittyng him ſelfe, Alexander remoued to the citye of Marathon. There he receyued letters from Darius, that put him in great collor, becauſe they were ſo arrogantlye written, the ſpeciall poynte that moued Alexander, was

Strato king of Arade.

Inlande.

Letters frõ Darius vnto Alexãder

was for yͤ Darius writing him ſelfe king, did not vouchſafe to geue him that title, but did write rather by waye of commaundement then of requeſt, proferyng for the raunſome of his wife and children, ſo muche money as Macedon coulde receiue. For the ſuperioritie (he ſaied) he put it to his choiſe, to trye it by the ſworde if he liſte. But if he woulde be better aduiſed, he willed him to be content with his owne enheritaunce, and ſo he would ioyne in amitie with him, & become his frend, in which poinct he was ready to enter into treatie. Alexãder did write to him againe after this maner: Darius whoſe name thou haſt vſurped, did great deſtructiõ vpon the Greakes inhabityng on the coaſt of Helleſpont, & vpon the Ionians whiche be Greake Cities, paſſyng from thẽce the ſea with a great army to make warre againſt Greace and Macedõ. And alſo kyng Xerxes thy predeceſſour came to ſubdue vs with infinite nũbres, which beyng vainquiſhed in a battaile on the ſea, lefte notwͭſtãdyng Mardonius behinde him in Greace, to deſtroy their cities & burne their cõutries. It is manifeſt beſides that Philip my father was ſlayne by ſuch as were corrupted therũto wͭ your mony. Ye vndertake alwais vniuſt warres, and occupiyng armes, go about for all that to circumuent men with treaſon. As thou of late hauing ſuch numbre of men in thine army, diddeſt procure my death with the promiſſe of a thouſãd talentes. I am not therfore the beginner of the warres, but repulſe ſuch iniuries as be profered me. In doing wherof through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour alway the right) haue brought the more parte of Aſia vnder my ſubiection: and hauing ouercome the in battaile by force of armes, there is no cauſe yͤ I ſhould graunt the

Alexanders aunſwere to Darius letters.

Circumvent

eny thinge, which haſt not obſerued towardes me the lawe of armes, yet if thou wilt come & ſubmit thy ſelfe, I promiſſe thee that I will deliuer bothe thy mother, wife, and children, for both I know how to get the victorye, and howe to vſe ſuch as I ouercome, but if thou feareſt to commit thy ſelfe to vs, I wyll geue the ſaufeconduite to come frelye. In the reſt when thou writeſt vnto me, remẽbre that thou writeſt not only to a king, but alſo vnto him that is thy kyng. He ſent this letter by Therſippus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the citye of Biblon was youlden vnto him.

Phenicia,
Biblon.
Sydon

And ſo came vnto Sydon whiche was a citye of great nobilitie, by reaſon of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The ſame was vnder Stratos dominiõ, ſupported by the power of Darius, who yealdyng more by the conſtreynt of the people, then of his owne good wil, was thought vnworthye to reygne there. Alexander made a graũt to Epheſtion ẏ he ſhould make ſuch one kyng, whom the Sidons thought moſt worthye that eſtate. There were diuers noble young men in that citye that had familiaritye with Epheſtion, of whome he purpoſed to haue choſen one Kynge: but they refuſed his offer, affirmyng that none myght enioye that dignitye, except he were deſcended of the bloude royall. Epheſtion wondered at the magnanimitye that was in them, in deſpiſyng the thinge whyche other ſought for by ſworde and fire, and therfore ſaied: continue you ſtyll in that vertuous minde, whiche be the firſte that haue vnderſtandynge, howe muche better it is to refuſe then to receyue a kingdome. Choſe you therfore ſuche one of the bloude royall, that maye remembre he hath receyued the rule at your handes. But when they ſawe diuers gapynge for it, and for the gredines

ſubported.

Magnanimitie

they had to reigne, fel to flatering of ſuch as were nere about Alexander, reſolued that there was none more mete for that dignitye, then one Abdolominus, who beyng of the auncient bloud of the Kynges, for pouertie was enforced to dwell in a ſmall grange without the citye. His honeſtye was the cauſe of his pouertie (as it is to many other) and beyng occupied in his daylye labour, hearde no noyſe of the warres that troubled all Aſia. They of whom we ſpake of before, came into his gardeyne with garmētes to apparaile him like a kyng, and found him weadyng of his ground, whom they ſaluted Kyng, and ſaied: You muſte make exchaung of the vilenes of your apparaile, with theſe riche robes we here preſent you: waſhe the body that is nowe foule and filthye, take vpon you the harte of a Kyng, and in this Fortune wherof you be worthye, ſhewe the ſame moderation and continencie you do vſe preſently. And when you ſhall ſit in your regall ſeate hauyng in your handes power of the life & death of your people, do in no wiſe forgette the eſtate ye were in when ye toke the kingdome vpon you, nor yet for what purpoſe ye did receyue it. The matter ſeamed to Abdolominus lyke a dreame, and aſked thē if they were madde that would mocke him after that maner. But when he ſaw them affirme by othes the thing to be in earneſt, he waſhed him ſelfe, & receiuyng the garmēt which was of purple and gold, wēt with them into the palaice. The fame (as is wont in ſuch a caſe) did notably rūne abrode of this matter. Some fauored ẏ cauſe, & ſome did diſdaine it, but ſuche as were riche, did reproue his pouertie & baſe eſtate to ſuche as were nere about Alexander, whiche cauſed the kyng to ſend for him, and when he had long beholden his behauioure, ſayed: your perſonage dothe

Abdolominus was made kyng.

honestie the cause of pouertie, in manye.

The riche do euer disdaine the poore.

not diſagre to the fame of your linage. But I deſire to knowe with what pacience you did ſuſteyne your pouertie. I would to God (qd he) I coulde beare my proſperitie in like caſe nowe when I am a kyng. These handes did get that I deſiered, and hauyng nothyng, I lacked nothyng. His wordes cauſed Alexander to conceyue of him a marueylous opinion, ſo that he gaue vnto him not onely the riches, ſtuffe, and furnimentes apperteynynge to the Kynge before, but alſo manye thinges that were taken from the Percians, addyng to his dominion all the countrey neare about the citie. In the meane ſeaſon Amintas wyth foure thouſande Greakes that eſcaped with him out of the fielde, fledde to Tripolis, where he enbarked, and ſailed vnto Cypres: thinkyng the worlde to be ſuch thē, that euery one might enioy yͤ he could get, like as it had ben his owne inheritāce. His purpoſe was to go into Egipt, thinking there to become enemy both to Darius & Alexāder and to waye wͭ the worlde, accordyng as the time ſhould alter. To bring therfore his ſouldiers to hope wel of his enterprice, he declared how yͤ gouernour of Egipt was ſlaine in the battell, & that yͤ Perciās left there in guariſon were but a ſmall number, of little force, and wͭout eny head. He ſhewed how the Egiptiās vſed to rebel againſt their gouernours, wherfore they were ſure to be receiued as frēdes. For ſince neceſſitie (qd he) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our firſt hope, we muſt now thinke that things to come ſhal be much better then our preſent eſtate. They al agreed with one voyce, that he ſhould lead them where he liſt. Wherupon thinking good not to pretermit the occaſion whiles the hope was hotte in their hartes, conueied them into Egipt, and entred the hauen at Peluſiū, vn-

der

An exclent examble of paciens hauinge no Ambitious mynde.

Alexander full of Liberalitie.

Tripolis.

Amintas perſwaſion to his ſouldiours.

Pretermit

Peluſium.

der pretence that he had bene ſent thether by Darius. When he had gotten Peluſium, he ſette forwardes towardes Memphis, at the fame of whoſe commyng the Egiptians beyng a lite nacion, and more apt to make a ſturre, then to maintayne it when it is once begone, canne to him out of all townes ⁊ villages, with entent to deſtroy al the Percians. But they notwithſtandyng the feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the countrey, but fought wyth the Greakes, and were put to flyght. After that victorye Amyntas beſieged Memphis, and his men deſtroyed ſo all the countrey therabouts, that they left nothyng unſpoyled. Wherupon Mazeches though he perceiued his ſouldiours much amaſed with the feare of their late ouerthrowe, yet when he ſawe his enemies ſcatered abrode ⁊ without ordre for the pride they had conceyued of their victory: at length perſwaded his men to iſſue out of the citye, and in ſettyng vpon their enemies, recouer againe that they had loſt. Which aduice beyng good of it ſelfe, by good hādelyng toke moſt fortunate ſucceſſe, for they ſlewe at that time both Amintas and all his company. This puniſhment he ſuffered for the offence committed to both princes, beyng neither faythfull to Alexander whom he forſoke, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius capitaynes whiche eſcaped from the battayle at Iſſon, gathering together ſuche men as were ſcatered abroade, and ſuche power beſide as they coulde leuye in Capadoce and Paphlagonia, did attempe to recouer againe the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithſtandyng that he had taken many ſouldiers out of the guariſons to ſend vnto Alexander: yet he ſo little eſtemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Percians receiued there the like fortune they did

Memphys

The riget orders of rebelles.

Mazeches

Good advyse by good handlinge, takethe good effect.

in other places: whyche attemptyng the fight in three
aristomenes sundrye coũtries, were vainquished in them all. At the
When the whele of fortune turnith it turnithe swiftlie
same time the nauie of the Macedons whiche Alexander
had sent for out of Greace, metynge Arystomenes
(whom Darius had appointed to make warre vpõ the
coast of Hellespont) toke and drowned all his shyppes.
Farnabasus Darius admirall, hauyng exacted money
Milesium. at Mylesium, and sette a guarison in Scio, passed
Andros. into the Ile of Andros with a hundred shyppes. And
Syphnus from thence he wente to Syphnus, & puttyng men of
warre into all the Ilandes, exacted of theim money.
The greatnes of the warre that was in hand betwene
two of the most puissant princes of Asia and Europe,
Agys, did drawe both Greace and Crete to armes. Agis the
kyng of Lacedemon gathered together. viii. thousand
Greakes that were come home out of Cylicia, and moued
warre to Antipater, that was gouernour of Macedon.
The Cretiãs folowyng sometime one part, and
sometime an other, receyued one while guarison of
Macedons, and an other while of Lacedemonians, to
lye amonges them. But those warres were of no great
importaunce, for all mennes eyes were fixed vpon the
Non. warres that were in vre betwene Alexãder & Darius,
wherupon all the rest did depend. The Macedons had
The Citye of Tyre. subdued al Siria & Phenices, Tyre only except, which
beyng the greatest & most notables citye of al that coũtrey,
shewed that they estemed them selues worthye rather
to ioyne with Alexander as frẽdes, then to become
his subiectes. For when he was come nere vnto them,
and encamped vpon the mayne lande, whiche is deuided
from their citye wyth a small arme of the Sea.
They sent to him by their Embassadours a crowne of
gold for a present, with great plenty besides of vitailes

for his army. He receiued their gifts, as frō his frēds, and gaue gentle aunſweres vnto the Embaſſadours: but he ſhewed him ſelf much deſirous to make ſacrifice vnto Hercules (whom the Tiriās ſpecially worſhipped, and the Macedō kinges ſuppoſed thē ſelues to be diſcended of him) being admoniſhed therunto (as he ſaid) by an Oracle. The Embaſſadours made aunſwere: ẏ there was a tēple of Hercules without their Citie in ẏ place which they cal Phaletirō, where as he myghte do ſacrifice at his pleaſure. At thoſe words Alexāder could not refraine his yre, whereunto he was much ſubiect, but fell in a rage: I perceiue nowe (qd he) becauſe ye dwel in an Iland, ye truſt ſo much in theſe cituatiō of your citie that ye diſpiſe my lande power. But I wyll ſhortly do you to vnderſtande, that ye dwell vpon the mayne land, and bring you in ſuch caſe, as your Iland ſhal not helpe you: and therfore truſte to it that if ye receiue me not in, I wyll enter by force. When the Embaſſadours were diſmiſſed with thys aunſwere, ſuche as were neare about the kyng, perſuaded thē that they ſhould not exclude him, whom al Siria and Pheniſes had receiued. But they had conceiued ſuch a confidēce for that their Citye ſtoode in the ſea, deuided .lxxx. furlonges from the mayne lande, that they vtterly determined to abide the ſiege. That ſea of theirs is muche ſubiecte to the ſouthweſt wynd, whyche made at euery ſtorme the waues beate ſo hyghe againſt the ſhore, that it would not ſuffer the Macedōs to make eny worcke for the ioyning of the mayne land to the citie: it being ſcarſely poſſible to worcke eny thynge there, when the wether was moſte caulme. The firſte worcke that the Macedons began, was by and by throwen downe ẇ the vehemence of the ſeas that were driuen bi ẏ wind.

The Siege of Tyre.

Straineable.

Enuyroned.

Carthag:

Hartinge

Nor thei could make no Mole ſo ſtrõg within the ſea, but that it was waſhed away, ⁊ brought downe by beating of the waues. And when the winde blewe ſtreynable it wold bring ẏ Seas clene ouer the work. Ther was an other difficultie no leſſe then thys, for by reaſon that the walles were enuironed about wyth the deapnes of the ſea, they could rayſe no engine to ſhote but a far of out of ſhippes, nor ther was not eny groũd about the citie, wherupon ladders moughte haue bene raiſed agaynſt the walles, or approche made vnto them by land. Alexander had no ſhyppes, and though he had had ſome, and would haue coueted to brynge thẽ to the walles, yet by reaſon of the vnſtablenes of the water, they mighte with ſhotte eaſely haue bene kept of. But emonges the reſt of other thynges, the Tirians were wõderfully encouraged by the commynge of the Embaſſadours ſente from Carthage, to celebrate a yerely ſacrifice, accordyng to their cuſtome. For the Tirians being the builders of Carthage, were ſince that tyme had in veneracion of thẽ as their parentes ⁊ fyrſt foũders. Thoſe Embaſſadores exhorted thẽ in eny wiſe to abide the ſiege, and promyſed them ſhortly aide, whyche thei alleged mighte eaſely ⁊ ſone be done, forſomuch as at ẏ time al the ſeas were ful of the Carthage fleates. Upõ this hartyng they determined to abide the extremitie, and placed their engynes vpon the towers and the walles, deuiding their armour emõges the yougth of the Citie. The artificers, whereof that Citie hadde great plẽtye, were deuided into worke houſes to make al ſuch thynges as were neceſſarye for the warres. There were deuiſed certaine inſtrumentes wherwith they myght pul downe the workes that their enemies made, called Harpagons, and alſo crowes of Iron named Corui, with al other thinges that myght be inuented for the defence of Cities. But a ſtraunge thynge is reported, that when the Iron was put in the forge & blowne in the fire, the ſame was ſene to be full of droppes of bloude. Whiche wonder the Tirians dyd interprete as a tokē of good fortune towardes them ſelues, and as a ſignification of diſtruction towardes their enemies. A like thynge was ſene emonges the Macedons, for when a certayne ſouldier was breakynge of his breade, droppes of bloude appeared therin. Wherat Alexander beinge aſtoined, Ariſtander that was moſte cūnyng of al the deuiners of their religion, dyd enterprete thus the matter. If the bloude had appeared outwardely, then it had ſignified ill fortune to the Macedōs, but in aſmuch as it was founde within, it betokened deſtruction to the Citie they went about to get. Alexander conſidering his nauie to be farre from him, & that a long ſiege ſhould be great impediment to his other affaires, ſent officers of Armes vnto the Cytye to perſwade them vnto peace, whome the Tirians agaynſte the lawe of nacions dyd drowne in the Sea. Their vniuſte death ſturred Alexander ſo muche, that he then vtterly determined to go forwardes wyth the ſiege, but before he could make hys approche, it was of neceſſitie for him to make a Pere or a Mole, whereby they myght paſſe from the mayne lande to the Citye. But in the making therof there entered great diſpaire into all mens hartes, conſiderynge the deapnes of the ſea, whiche they ſawe not poſſible to be fylled, ſcarſly by eny deuine powre. For they thought no ſtones ſo great, no trees ſo highe, nor eny coūtrey to haue ſuch plēty as might ſuffiſe for the buildyng of a bāke in ſuch a place, cōſidering yͤ ſea remained alwaies troubled. And the

Prodigious ſightes.

Ariſtander.

[illegible]

The lawe of nacions broken.

A Pere or Mole.

narower the place was betwene the citie & the lande, ſo muche more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his ſouldiers to what effect him pleaſed, declared how that Hercules appered vnto him in his ſleape and gaue him his hãd, profering to be his captaine and hys guide for the entraunce of the citie. Therunto he added the kyllynge of hys Embaſſadours, wherby they had violated & broken the law that al nacions obſerued, and that ther remayned but onely one citie whiche ſtaied his victorie. Therupon he deuided the worcke emongeſt his captaines, that euerye one might apply hys owne band. And ſo put the worck in vre, when he had once ſufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plentye of ſtones at hand of yͤ mynes of the olde citye where Tire ſtode before, and for the makyng of botes & towres timber was brought from the mount Libanus. The worcke did growe frõ the bottome of the Sea lyke a mountayne, but not yet broughte to the hyghe water marcke. And the further the Pere was wrought from the lande vnto the Sea warde, ſo muche the ſoner the Sea dyd ſwallowe vp the ſubſtaunce of thyngs, wherof the ſame was made. Whyles the Macedons were thus about their worcke yͭ Tiriãs would come about thẽ in ſmal veſſels, & giue them wordes of reproche and ſcorne: as that they were nowe become goodly menne of warre, that woulde be made pioners and cary burdens like beaſtes vpõ their backes. And they aſked them alſo if they thought Alexander to be greater then the God of the Sea. But their reprofe did not hinder but encreaſe the cherefulnes of of the ſouldiers in their payne and trauayle. In ſo much the Mole in a ſhort ſpace ſurmounted aboue the water, & encreaſing much in breadth, approched neare

Mont: Libanus.

vnto the Cytye. Then the Tirians ſeinge the hugenes of the woorcke, in the increaſe whereof they ſawe them ſelues diſceiued, little thynckynge that it woulde haue growen to ſuch a paſſe, in little veſſels came rowing aboute the Pere, and did driue the ſouldiers with ſhotte from their worckinge, and becauſe it lay in them to bring their boates ſodeinly forwardes, and returne ſone agayne, they hurt many of yͤ Macedons without eny daunger to them ſelues, enforcinge them to leaue their worcke, and fal to their owne defence. For remedie whereof, and too auoide their enemies ſhotte, they were compelled to ſtreatch out beaſtes ſkynnes vpon poles like ſailes, and ſet thoſe betwene thē and theyr enemies. And beſides at the head of the Peare, they raſed vp two Towers from whence wyth ſhote and caſtynge of dartes they keapt of the boates that came aboute them. On the other ſide the Tirians would land wyth theyr boates farre out of the ſight of the Campe, and kylle ſuche as were caryinge of ſtones. The peaſantes beſydes of Arabie, did ſet vpon certayne Macedons that were ſcatered abroade in the mount Libanus, where they ſlewe and toke diuers. That was one cauſe whiche moued Alexander to deuide hys armye. And leſt he myghte ſeme to remayne idlely aboute the ſiege of one Citie, he appointed Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the woorcke he had in hand, and wente into Arabia wyth ſuche parte of hys powre moſte apte for his purpoſe. In the meane ſeaſon the Tyrians prepared a greate ſhyppe laden wyth ſtones and grauell behinde, ſo that the fore parte floted aboue the watter, whiche ſhip anointed ouer with pitche and brymſtone, they brought ſodenly by ſailing and force of ores vnto the Pere, and there remaynynge the mariners

Arabia.

ners ſet the ſhyp on fire, and then leaped into boates which folowed after for the purpoſe. The ſhip thus ſet on fire ſo enflamed the woode worke perteining to the Pere, that before eny reſcue could come, the fire had taken the towers of the Pere, & al the reſt of the workes that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, ſawe the matter take ſuch effecte, they put betwixt yͤ timbre and other voyde places, both fire brandes, and al ſuch thinges as myght geue nouriſhment and encreaſe to the fire: ſo that the towers & al the reſt beinge on a flame, manye of the Macedons were conſumed therewith, and the reſt forſoke their armour and threwe theym ſelues into the ſea. Then the Tirians that were more deſirous to take thẽ on lyue, then to kill them wyth ſtaues and ſtones did ſo beate them on the handes as they were ſwimming, that for werines they were glad to be takẽ vp into their boats. The whole worcke was not cõſumed with this fire only, for it chaunſed alſo the ſame daye a terrible winde to ryſe, which blowing out of the ſea, brought the waues with ſuche violence vpon the Mole, that wyth often beating of the Seas, the ioyntes that knit the worcke together, began to loſe and leaue their holde. Thẽ the water that waſhed through, brake downe the Mole in the myddes, ſo that the heapes of ſtones whyche were before ſuſteyned by the tymbre and earth caſt betwixte thẽ once broken a ſonder, the whole worcke fel to ruine and was caried away into the deape ſea. By that tyme Alexander was retourned out of Arabye, and ſcarſelye found eny remaine or token, that eny ſuche worcke had bene. In that caſe (as it is euer vſed in thynges that chaunce (uil) one laide the faulte vpõ another, when in dede the violẽce of the ſea was the cauſe of al. Alexan-

der

A newe Pere made after ano‑ther ſort.

der began to make the Pere againe after a newe ſorte: the heade therof lying into the wether and the wind, ⁊ not the open ſide as it did before: So that the fore frōt alwayes defended the reſt of the worke lying behinde. He encreaſed alſo the breadth therof, to theintent ȳ towers might be builded in the middes of ȳ Pere, wherby they ſhuld be leaſt ſubiect to ȳ enemies ſhot. Whole trees were put into the ſea with their toppes and braūches, and after great ſtones throwen vpon them. And ouer thoſe a newe courſe of trees and ſtones agayne, by which deuice this whole worcke was ioyned, ⁊ knit al in one. As the Macedons were buſye to bryng their worcke forwardes, ſo the Tirians were as diligente to inuent al ſuch thinges, as mighte geue impediment to their proceding. Their chiefe practyſe was for a numbre of them to enter into the Sea a farre of out of the Macedons ſight, and ſo come diuing vnder the water tyll they came vnto the Peere, where wyth hokes they woulde pull vnto them the braunches of the trees that appeared out of the ſtones, wherby the ſtones and the other ſubſtaunce folowed after into the deape. For the trees beinge diſcharged of their burden were eaſelye drawen away and then the foūdaciō faylyng, the whole worcke that ſtaied vpon the trees fel to ruyne. Emonges theſe impedimentes Alexander ſtode in great perplexitie of mynd, doubting whether he ſhould continue the ſiege ſtil, or els departe his waye. When he was in thys imaginacion, ſodainelye his nauye arriued from Cipres, and Cleander alſo wyth ſuche ſouldiers as he had brought out of Greace. And hauinge to the numbre of. C. lxxx. ſhippes, deuided them into two battailes, whereof he committed the one vnto Pythagoras the kinge of Cipres, and to Craterus, and toke charge of

Impediment

ꝑplexitie

Pithagoras kinge of Cipres

the other him ſelfe, cõmitting his own parſon in a Galey called Cinqreme, which had fiue oores on a banke. The Tiriãs durſt not aduẽture the ſea fight although they had a great nauy, but ſet al their galeis in a frõte before the walles of their Citie, which the king aſſailed and put to diſtres. The next day the Macedons wyth their ſhippes enuironed the Citie rounde about, & dyd beate downe the walles, ſpeciallye with ſuch engynes as they call Arietes. But the Tirians ſtraight way rẽforced and made vp their walles agayne with ſtones ỹ lay at hand, and raiſed vp an inwarde walle rounde aboute wythin the Citie, whiche might be their defence if the other failed. But their deſtruction approched on euery ſyde, the Mole was wrought within the caſte of darte, and the ſhippes gaue the approche round aboute the walles, ſo that they were ouer laide bothe by Sea and by lande. The Macedons hadde deuiſed to ioyne their galeis two and two together in ſuche ſorte that the forepartes met cloſe before, and the hinderpartes laye farre of one from the other. And ouer the ſpaces remaininge betwixt puppe and puppe, they made brydges with maſtes and maine yardes laied betwixt Galey and Galey faſte bounde together to carye ſouldiers vpon. Whẽ they had put their galeis in this order, thei ſet forwardes to wardes the Citye. And hauinge rampared the prores for defence of the ſouldiers that were behinde, they ſtoode in the Galeis and dyd ſhoote and caſt dartes againſt their enemies wythout eny peril or daunger to them ſelues. It was mydnyght when they had commaundemente to ſet forwardes after the maner. As the ſhyppes were approchynge on all partes, and the Tirians ſtoode aſtonied for feare and deſperation: ſodainelye the ſkye was ouerwhelmed wyth dymme

Arietes.

reforced.

A Tempeſt.

dimme clowdes, & a ſodeine darkenes toke awaye the light. Then the ſea by little & litle waxed terrible and roughe, the wynde blewe rayſing vp the waues, and did beate the ſhippes one againſte an other: the violence wherof burſt a ſonder the bandes and graſpers wherwith ẏ galeyes were faſtened togithers. Which done the bridges craſhed and flewe aſonder, and with the ſouldiers that ſtoode vpon them fel into the Sea. There was great cōfuſion, for the ſhippes entangled thus togither. could by no means be gouerned in ſuch a tempeſt, the ſouldiers diſturbing the feate of the mariners; and the mariners geuyng impediment to the office of the ſouldiers. Thus as it doth often happen in ſuch caſe, the expert were obedient to the ignoraunt, for the ſhippe maiſters that were wont to commaūde, then for feare of death were dyrected by other. But at length by force of rowyng the galleis recouered the ſhore, the more parte of them being broken and torne. It chaunſed at the ſame time. xxx. Embaſſadours to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then aſſiſtance to them that were beſieged. For they ſhewed howe the Carthagens were ſo aſſayled wyth warre at their owne dores, that they could by no meanes ſend them ſuccour. In ſo muche as the Syracuſans were burning in Affrike, and had encāped them ſelues vnder the verie walles of Carthage. The Tyryans yet were not diſcomfited, for all that they were diſapointed of their ſpecial truſte, but deliuered vnto thoſe Embaſſadours their wyues and their chyldren to carie vnto Carthage, thiking to endure more ſtowtly the ſiege, if the thinges whych were moſte deare vnto them, were remoued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian whyche in an open aſſemble declared that A-

Graſpers.
Craſshed.
Entangled.
diſturbynge
Impediment

Tranſformed

Men in feare, are apte to beleue the worſte.

Euil ſuperſti= tion, bothe nature and humanitie d. dothe abhorre.

polo (whom the Tyrians greatly do worſhype) hadde appeared to him in his ſlepe, ſeming to him that he had forſaken the Cytie, and tranſformed the Moole that ẏ Macedons had made, into a great woode. Hereupon though the auctor were of ſmall credite, yet foraſmuch as men in feare be apte to beleue the worſte, they tied faſt Apollos Image wyth a golden cheyne, and boũd faſt alſo the aulter of Hercules (to whom the Cytie was dedicate) thynking by deteining of the one, to kepe ſtill the other. The Carthagens in tymes paſte had brought that Image from Siracuſe, and had placed it in the hedd Citie, out of the which they were deſcended. For their cuſtome was to adourne Tyre wyth ſuche ſpoiles as they had taken, no leſſ then they dyd Carthage it ſelf. They at ẏ time would alſo haue bene auctoures vnto the Tiriãs for the renuing of an olde ſacrifice that had bene omitted many yeares, wher in they vſed to offre vp to Saturne a fre borne childe. Whiche being rather a ſacrilege then a ſacrifice, the Carthagens receiued of their fyrſt founders, & ſtil obſerued the ſame, till their citie was deſtroied. And but ẏ the auncient mẽ by whom al thinges were gouerned had wythſtand it, thys wicked ſuperſticion had taken place, which nature and humanitie doth abhorre. The neceſſitie that was hanging ouer their heades, being more effectuall then eny arte or ſcience, practiſed not onlye ſuche thinges as were accuſtomed for defences, but alſo founde out that was neuer inuented before. For to the deiſturbaunce of the ſhippes that approched the walles, they deuiſed longe rafters, to the which the faſtened graſples of Irõ and great hokes like ſithes, which letten downe with ropes by an engyne, either tare the ſhippes or deſtroyed the men. They inuented alſo Targettes of metall to be made fyre hote, in the whych they put burning ſande, & ſcalding lime, & then poured the ſame downe vpon the Macedons yͭ came neare the walles, being a myſchiefe that they feared moſt of all other. For when the hote ſande entered betwene the harneis & the body, there was no meanes to auoyde it awaie: and where it touched it burned to the bones, ſo that they were enforced to throwe awaye their harneys, and teare awaye all thynges they had vpon their bodies. Thereby they became ſubiecte to be hurte by their enemies, and were not in caſe to endomage them againe. But ſpecially the graſples lettē downe (called Corui) toke violently away many of the ſouldiers yͭ were with in yͤ ſhyppes. Alexander ſeyng the obſtinate defence of the Tyrians, was werye of the matter, and determined to rayſe hys ſiege, and go vnto Egypt. For conſidering in howe ſhort a ſpace he had ſubdued Aſia, it greued hym to be deteyned ſo long about the walles of one citie, whereby he omytted the occaſion and oportunitie of greater thynges in the meane ſeaſon. But he was aſmuche aſhamed to departe without his purpoſe, as to remaine there and leaue other thyngs vndone: iudgyng that if he ſhould leue Tyre after that ſorte, as a wytnes that he myght be withſtand, it ſhould much impaire his fame, wherewyth he had gotten more then wyth force. And it chaūſed at the ſame tyme a monſter of an excedyng bignes to appeare aſwell in the ſyghte of the Tyrians as the Macedōs, which lyeng vpō his back aboue the water came towardes yͤ Moole, and when he had beaten yͤ water and lyfted vp hym ſelfe at the head of the Moole, diued vnder the water againe, ſomtime appearing aboue & ſomtime hiding him ſelf vnderneath, whē he came neare the walles of the Citye vanyſhed oute of

When men be in extremitie and daunger, they devyse all the meanes that wit can devyse, to healpe them selves.

ſyghte. The ſyght of this monſter reioyſed bothe parties: the Macedons enterpretyng the ſame to be ſent them as a guide for their direcciō to finiſhe out the worcke, and the Tyriās deuining that Neptune in reuenging the vſurpacion that the Macedōs had made vpon the ſea, woulde ſhortely deſtroye the worcke that they had made, in ſuch lyke ſorte as he had taken away the monſter. They vpon their owne imagination, conceiued ſuche a gladnes, and pronoſticated to them ſelues ſuch good fortune, that they fel to banquetyng and drinkyng. And when they were well charged with wine, at the ſunne riſing thei ſet garlandes of flowers vpon their heades, and mounted into their galleis, not only with hope of victory, but with a triumphe made before hand. It chaunſed at the ſame time that Alexāder had conueyed his nauie to the contrary ſide of the Citie, and lefte vpon the ſhore .xxx. of the ſmalleſt veſſels, of the which the Tyrians caught two, and put the reſt in daunger of deſtreſſing, vntyll ſuche tyme as the kynge hearing the alarome, ſette forwardes with hys nauye towardes that part where the ſkrye was heard. The firſte Galeye of the Macedons that came nere them was a quinquereme, the ſwyfteſt of all the reſte, whyche when the Tirians eſpied, they came agaynſte her wyth two galeies croſſe vpon her ſide: wherof the one ſtrake ful with her Spurne, with whō the cinquereme graſpeled, & the other which was looſe and at libertie fell vpon her contrarye ſyde. But leſte betwixt thē two ſhe might ſuſteyne ſome domage, one of Alexanders Tryremes came to the reſcue wyth ſuche violence, that the maiſter of the looſe galey was ſtryken into the ſea. Whē the Tyrians ſawe Alexander was come hym ſelfe, and more of hys ſhyppes at hande,

Vſurpation

pronoſticated

then with ſtrength of ores and great difficultie, they ſet their galeye that was entangled loſe againe and at libertie, makyng towardes their hauen wyth all the haſt thei might. Alexander immediatly purſued them, but when he came to the hauen he coulde not enter, but was beaten of with ſhot from the walles, yet he did take and drowne the more parte of their galeyes. After this aduenture he reſted his ſouldiers two daies and then willed his ſhyppes to be brought forwardes and the engines in them, to the intent that bi aſſailyng the Tiriãs on al ſides, he might put them in extreame feare. Alexander with a wonderful courage not without great perill vnto his perſone, mounted vp into the toppe of a tower that was made in a ſhyppe, and there knowen by his apparaile and riche armour, was chiefly layde at, and ſhot to from all partes. He wroughte wonderfull feates with hys owne perſone, for bothe with his pike he ſlewe diuers that ſtode at defence, and afterwardes fought hande to hande with hys ſworde and hys target throwing diuers downe from their defence, for the towre wherein he fought ioyned hard to the walles. By that time the engines called Arietes wyth muche beating hadde ſtriken downe the walles, the nauie was gote within the hauen, ⁊ certeyne of the Macedons hadwonne the towres. The Tyrians then oppreſſed with ſo many miſeries at once were cleane diſcõfited: Some fled for ſuccour vnto yͤ tẽples, ſome did ſhut their dores, takyng that kynde of death they lyked beſte. And other ran vpon their enemies to ſell their liues dere. But yͤ more part gote vp into yͤ toppes of their houſes, and frõ thẽce did caſt downe vpõ their enemies, whatſoeuer came vnto their hãdes. Alexãder

The wynning of Tire

cōmaūded al to be ſlaine wᵗout exceptiō, ſauing ſuch as fled into yͤ temples, & willed the houſes to be ſet on fier. Though that were proclaymed throughout the Citye, yet there was none bearing armour that woulde ſaue them ſelues that way. For as the women and chyldren filled the temples, ſo the men kept the entries of their houſes, redie to abide yͤ crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Sidonians were yͤ occaſiō that many were ſaued who ſeruing in the warres amonges the Macedons and entering the Citye wyth the reſte, were myndfull of their affinitie wyth the Tyrians (Agenour beyng builder of both their Cityes) and conueyed many into their ſhippes, whyche they ſent priuely vnto Sydone. By that meanes fiftene thouſande eſcaped the crueltie of the ſword. The nombre of them that were ſlaine may partely be coniectured, in that there were founde dead within the Citye ſix thouſande of ſuche as bare armour. The Kynges wrathe towardes the Citye made the ſyght dolerous vnto the victorers. For two thouſande whom the furye of the ſlaughter had lefte on liue, were afterwardes hanged vpon croſſes along the ſea coaſte. The Embaſſadours of the Carthagens were ſaued, but he thretened to make warre agaynſt them, from the whyche he was then letted by other buſines he hadde in hande. Thus Tyre was taken the .vii. moneth after it was beſieged, a Citye notable to the poſteritie, aſwell through the antiquitie it was of, as alſo by the often chaunge of fortune that it had ſuffred. It was buylded by Agenour, and manye yeres was maiſter of the ſeas, not only neare thereabout, but in al places where as their nauies came. And if we lyſte to credite the fame, that Citye was the firſte whiche either taught or learned letters. They

Agenour.

A notable reueng the breache of the lawe of armes.

The tyrians the first that learned, or taught letters.

buylded Cities and put in them inhabitours throughout the more partes of the worlde, bothe Carthago in Affryke, Thebes in Boecia, and Gades in Spayne vpon the Occean. It is to be thought that by reaſon of their free recourſe through all ſeas, and by viſyting of many ſtraunge coũtries, they had occaſion to choiſe out Seates to place in their youthe, wherof they then habounded. Or els as ſome write the inhabitours weried to dwell their by reaſon of many earthequakes, were compelled of force to ſeke out ſtraunge dwelling places. But after manie caſualties that happened vnto Tyre, after the deſtruction newely renued, and all things growen againe through long peace, remaineth nowe vnder the defence of the Romaines Clemency. About the ſame tyme Alexãder receiued letters from Darius, wherein at laſte he was contented to name him kyng. Hys requeſte was that Alexander woulde receyue his doughter Saptyne for his wife, wyth whõ he offred in dowre all the coũtrey betwene Hellespõt and the Riuer of Alys, and woulde reſerue vnto hym ſelfe onlye ſuche kyngdomes, as laye from thence Eaſtwarde. And if peraduenture he ſhould ſtycke to receyue this offre, he willed hym to conſider that fortune is not wounte to continewe longe in one eſtate, and that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater enuie dothe folowe them. It was to be doubted (he ſayed) leſte he exalted him ſelfe through ſome vayne & childiſhe affection, lyke as byrdes vſe to do, whoſe natural lightnes conuey them to the ſtarres. For there was nothing more difficultye in ſo yong yeares, then to beare well ſuch height, and greatnes of fortune. He willed hym alſo to conſider that there remayned yet many countreis that he had not touched, and that he

The contentes of Darius letters.

The more felicitie, the more envye.

ſhould not alwayes mete him in ſtreightes, hauing to paſſe the Riuers of Euphrates, Tygre, Araxes, and Hidaſpes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his dominiō, & when that he ſhould come vnto the plaines, he ſhuld be aſhamed of his ſmalle nombre. He put him in remēbraunce to weye howe longe it ſhould be or he coulde paſſe Media, Hircania, Bactria, and the Indians, that bordered on the Occian Sea. And likewiſe the Sogdians and Arachoſians of whom mē haue none other knowledge thē of their name, with other nacions lying towardes the mount Caucaſus, and the Ryuer of Tanays. Though no man ſhould let hym, nor offer hym battaile, yet he ſhoulde growe in age (he ſayed) before he could paſſe ſo many landes. In the latter ende he aduyſed hym to call hym no more forwardes, for he woulde come ſone inough, and that to his deſtruction. Alexander made aunſwere to thoſe letters by the meſſengers that brought them in effect; that Darius offred to hym that was none of hys owne, and made a proffer to geue that he had al readie loſte. For Lidia Ionia, Aeolides, and the coaſte of Helleſpont, whiche he appoincted in dowre, were already become the rewardes of his victory. And as for lawes & condicions thoſe were wont to be geuen and appoyncted by the victours, & receiued of ſuch as were ouercome. And if he were ignoraūt in which of thoſe two eſtates he were in, that he ſhoulde come of and aduenture the battaile once againe. For he was not ignoraunt (he ſayed) before he paſſed the Sea howe Lidia, and Cilicia, were ouer ſmall rewardes, for the making of ſuch a warre. But his determination was euer to ſubdue and bring vnder his ſubiectiō, both Percepolis the chiefe citie of his kyngdome, and alſo Bactria, and Echatania. W

the

Theffect of Darius aunſwere.

Alexanders Anſwere to Darius lre.

the vttermoſte boundes of the Orient. He could fle no where but he was able to folowe. and therefore counſailed him that he ſhuld leaue to feare him with riuers, which had learned how to paſſe ſeas. Thus the kinges did write one to an other: & in the meane ſeaſon ẏ Rhodians yelded their citye and their hauen vnto Alexander, who cõmitted the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the coũtrey about Tyre vnto Philotas, Andromachus was mad Permenio his deputy in Caele Syria. From whence Alexander myndyng to ſet forwardes tothe reſte of his iourney, cõmaunded Epheſtion that wyth hys nauye he ſhoulde ſaile a longe the coaſte of Phenices, and ſo he came wyth hys whole power to the citie of Gaza. About the ſame time there were ſolẽpne triumphes & plaies at Iſthmos, accuſtomed to be celebrated with the aſſemble of all Greace. In ẏ counſel, as ẏ wittes of ẏ Grekes be ſodeine, decreed to ſend xii. Embaſſadours vnto Alexander for the cariyng vnto him a crowne of gold, in gratefiyng ẏ victory he had won, & the actes he had done for the ſaufegard & libertie of Greace, & yet a little before they harkened how ẏ fame went, & were redy to bend ẏ way that fortune enclined. Alexãder viſited not in perſon al ſuch coũtreis & cities as refuſed to do their obedience vnto him, but made conqueſt of them by his deputes. For Cales toke Paphlagõia, Antigonus Licaonia, & Balacrus ouercame Idarne Darius lieutenaũt, and wan Miletum. Amphritous & Egilochus wt a nauie of a hũdred & .lx. ſhyppes ſubdued al the Ilandes betwene Aſia and Achaia. And alſo by the conſente of the inhabiters gote Tenedon, which alwaies was a receptacle to the Perſians. They were at the poinct to haue gotten Scio

Men bend them
selues, that waie
that fortune en=
clyneth.

Receptacle

but that Pharnabaſus Darius deputie hauing intelligence of the matter, dyd fyrſte apprehende all ſuche as were of the Macedons faction, and committed the citye with a ſmal guarriſon to Appollodines and Athenagoras that were enclined to the Percians. Alexanders captaines for al this continued the ſiege of the citie ſtill, not ſo much in truſte of their owne ſtrength, as in hope of the faction they hadde wythin the Citye. In whiche poinct they were not deceiued, for through a ſedicion whiche dyd aryſe betwene Apollodines and the captaines of the men of warre occaſion was miniſtred vnto the Macedons to enter the towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entred, then the cytiſens whyche before hadde deuiſed to rebell agaynſte the Percians, toke parte wyth Amphiterus and Egilochus, ſo yͤ the guarriſon of the Percians were ſlayne, and Pharnabaſus wyth Apollodines and Anathogoras taken priſoners. There were .xii. galaies taken wyth their ſouldiers and rowers, beſides .xxx. ſhippes and veſſels of Pirates, with thre thouſand Grekes that were in wages with the Percians, with whom the Grekes furniſhed vp their owne bandes, and put the pyrates to death, beſtowing the rowers in their owne galeis. It chaunſed that Ariſtonicus the vſurper of Methyna ignoraunte of eny ſuche matter as was chaunſed in the fore parte of the night, came with certayne piraters ſhippes to enter into the hauen, whō when the watch demaūded what he was, he ſaied: he was Ariſtonicus, and came to the ſuccour of Pharnabaſus. Thei aūſwered he was at reſte and could not thē be ſpoken wͭ al, but it ſhuld be lawful for him (they ſaid) being their frend to enter into the hauē for yͤ night, & ſpeake with him whē it was day. Ariſtonicus

Scio taken.

Ariſtonicus

cus was the fyrſte that entred, and the pirates folowed him. But whiles they placed their ſhippes, the watchemen drewe the chayne againe ouer the hauen, and thē called vp ſuch as lay there neare about, ſo that none of them durſt reſiſt, but were al takē priſoners, and ſo deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilochus. Frō thence the Macedons paſſed to Mytelene whiche was kepte by Chares of Athens with guariſon of two thouſande Perciās: but when he was not able to endure yͤ ſiege he yelded vp the Citye with compoſicion to haue their liues ſaued, and to departe in ſauegard vnto Jmbros. Darius diſpairyng of peace, whiche he had procured both by his letters and Embaſſadours, gaue his mind to aſſemble a newe power, and freſhely to renue the warre. Therefore he cōmaunded the Capitaines and rulers of hys men to aſſemble at Babilon, & that Beſſus gouernour of the Bactriās, ſhould come thether wͭ al the power he coulde make. The Bactriās be the moſt hardyſt people emōges thoſe nacions vnciuil mē, & much abhorring frō the delicatenes of the Perciās. For by reaſō yͭ they border vpō the Scithians whiche be a warlicke nacion, they are accuſtomed to lyue by thefte, and be conuerſant continually in armes. But Beſſus that was ſuſpect of treaſon that he would not be content with the ſecond place, put Darius in great doubte: Who hauing an inckling that he aſpyred to be kyng, feared only his treaſon, hauing no other way to bring hys purpoſe to paſſe. Alexander wrought all the waies he could to obteine knoweledge where Darius was become, and into what coūtrey he was gone And yet could not get eny intelligence by reaſon of a cuſtome emonges the Percians, whyche are wont wͭ a marueilous fidelitie to kepe cloſe their princes ſecretes:

Mytelene.

Composicion

Jmbros.

Bactrians

Inklinge.

The persians feithfullnes towarde their Princes.

The laueſnes of the tounge puniſhed with the Perciās

ſſurillitie

The Siege of Gaza.

cretes: in the vttering wherof neither feare of death, nor hope of reward can cauſe them bring forth a word. This was a goodly diſcipline that the kinges there had of olde time vſed emōges their ſubiectes, in puniſhing with loſſe of life the laueſnes of the tounge, which is there more greuouſly chaſtyſed then eny other cryme. Nor ther is not in thoſe partes eny goodnes loked for at eny mans handes, that hath not the gifte of ſecretnes, wherof nature hath geuen a facilitye in mā. Thys was the cauſe that Alexander was ignoraunte of all thinges that his enemies did, and therefore cōtinued hys ſiege before Gaza. Betys was Captayne there, who was a man of a notable fidelitie towardes hys prince, whych with a ſmall guariſon defended the Cytie that was of a large compaſſe. Wherefore Alexander perceyuing the aduantage of the Scituacion, ſet many mynes in hande. For the lightnes of the ground made ẏ worcke eaſye, hauing neyther rockes nor ſtones to giue eny impediment. They began their mines on that ſide, where thei within could not deſtroy them. And to auoyde the ſuſpection of eny ſuch worke in hande, cauſed an approche to be made to the walles wyth towers that he hadde made of tymbre. But the ground woulde not ſerue for their caryng and remouing, by reaſon of the loſenes of the ſande, wherinto the wheles ſonke, and was ẏ cauſe that the ioyntes of the towers brake a ſonder. About the conueyaunce of them many were hurte, and as muche trouble they hadde in wythdrawynge of them, as in ſettyng them forwardes. When he perceyued he could not preuaille bi that meanes, he retired againe his mē for that time. But the next day he enuironed the Citye round about to giue the aſſaulte in euerie parte at once, and before he returned out of hys campe, made ſacrifice after his countrey maner, requiring the aide of the goddes. It chaunſed as he was ſo doing, that a Rauen flieng by, let falle a clodde (which ſhe caried in her clawes) vpon the kings heade, where it brake & reſolued in peaces. And the Rauen flewe vnto ẏ next towre, wher her fethers were ſo entangled with pitche at her lyting, that ſhe could not flie away but was taken of ẏ ſtanders theraboutes. This was thought a matter worthye whereupon the deuyners ſhoulde conſulte, for he him ſelfe was not free from the ſuperſticion of ſuche thynges. Therfore Ariſtander to whom he gaue moſte credyte, dyd interprete the ſame to be a ſigne of the diſtruction of that Cytie, but yet there was ſome peril (he ſaid) appearing towardes the kinges perſon, for which cauſe he perſwaded Alexāder that he ſhould not go aboute enye enterpriſe that daye.

Thoughe it greued hym much that one Cytie ſhoulde be a ſtaye and impediment vnto him for hys free paſſage into Egipt, yet he obeied the pronoſticatoure cauſed all hys men to retyre. The enemyes toke courage of their departure, and thinkinge feare to haue bene the cauſe whie they came not forwardes, ſayled out of the Cytie and ſet vpon their tayle. But they were more fierſe in the beginnyng of the ſkyrmiſhe, then conſtant in mayntaynyng of the ſame. For when thei ſawe the Macedons turne about, thei ſtayed and purſued no further. Alexander hearing, the alarum, and remembring nothing the perill that was propheſyed vnto him, at his frendes requeſte put on his harneys (which he was ſeldome accuſtumed to do) and reſorted thither where the ſkyrmiſhe was moſt hote. There he was knowen by a certeyne Arabian that was one of Darius ſouldiers, whiche toke vpon hym a deſperate enterpryſe too kylle Alexander, and therefore makynge hys pretence to be as a fugitiue from the Percians, kept his ſword ſecret vndernethe hys target, and fell downe on his knees before him. Who iudging that he had fled to hym for ſucoure, willed him to be receiued emonges his owne men. But the Arrabian therwithall ſtrake at yͤ king with his ſword, which he by a little ſteppynge aſyde, auoyded from hys throte and cutte of the Arabians hande that miſſed of hys ſtrocke. Alexander then iudged that he had cleane eſcaped the perill that ſhould haue chaunſed to him that daie, but (as I thincke) deſtenye can not be auoyded: for whiles he was eger to fight emonges the formoſte, he was ſtriken with an arrowe, which paſſed throughe his Corſelet and did ſticke in his ſhoulder. Philip hys Phiſicion did plucke it out, and great haboundauce of bloud did folowe, wherof euery man was afraied, for ſo much as they neuer ſawe an arrowe paſſe ſo farre through eny armoure before. But he neuer chaunged countenaunce nor couller, but cauſing the bloud to be ſtanched and hys wound to be wrapt vp, continued ſtil in the ſkyrmiſhe emonges the foremoſte, either ſuffring or diſſimbling his paine and dolour. But whē yͤ bloude that was ſtaied for the tyme braſte out agayne, and the wound which for the newnes greued hym not much beganne to ſwele and rancle as the bloud waxed colde, then he beganne to fainte and fall downe, and was taken vp by ſuche as were next hym, and caryed in to his tent. Betis that perceyued thys, ſuppoſyng hym to be ſlayne, retyred vnto the Citye againe with greate ioye and triumphe. But Alexanders wounde being yet vnhealed he cauſed a mounte to be caſte vp as highe as the toppe of the walles, and the walles to be caſt downe in diuers places by the myners. But they within made a countermure as highe as the olde wall, yet that coulde not ſtretche to the heyghte of the towres made vpon the mount, ſo that the inner partes of the citie were ſubiecte to ſhotte. But a myne whereat the wal was ouerthrowne, & a breache made whereẘ the Macedons did enter, was the vtter loſſe of the towne, whereas Alexander preſſinge on emonges the foremoſt aduēturouſly, had his legge hurt with a ſtone. That notwithſtanding he mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wounde yet vncloſed) and foughte emonges the formoſte, beinge in a greate furye, that in ẏ ſiege of ẏ one Citie, he had receyued two woundes. Betis that had foughte notably and receiued diueres hurtes, was forſakē of his owne mē, & yet not withſtādyng maintayned ſtill the fyght, and hadde all hys armoure embrued wyth hys owne bloude and hys enemies. But when he was encloſed round aboute, then Alexander which was wount to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, ſaide vnto him: Betis thou ſhalte not die as thou wouldeſt thy ſelfe, but whatſoeuer tormētes may be inuēted, thincke that thou ſhalt ſuffer thē. For al his wordes there appeared in Betis no token of feare, but beheld the king with an arrogant countenaunce, and would not aunſwere hym one worde. Then Alexander ſayde: ſe you not howe obſtinate he is to hold his peace, he would not knele, nor once deſire mercye. But groning ſhall breake hys ſilence, if nothinge els can do it. Thus his fortune alterynge hys nature, chaunged hym into ſtraunge maners, & tourned his wrath into woodnes. For he cauſyng cordes to be put through Beatis feate

whyles

Countermure

Winninge

The winning of Gaza.

Alexander receyved 2 woundes at the siege of Gaza.

Embrued

Prosperous fortune made Alexander cruell, and altered his nature.

The death of Betis

whiles he was lyue dyd drawe hym aboute the Citye with horſes, gloryeng that he did coũterfeit Achilles (of whom he was deſcended) in afflyctyng of hys enymye. There were ſlaine of the Percians and Arabiãs ten thouſand, and the victorie was not vnbloudy vnto the Macedones. This ſiege was not ſo famous through ỹ nobilitie of the Citie, as it was by the double daũgier the kynge was in: Whyche makyng haſte to paſſe into Egypt ſent Amintas wyth ten Galies into Macedon, to leuie more ſouldiers. For though he were alwayes victorour in proſperous battailes, yet hys mẽ were deminiſhed, and he truſted not ſo muche to the ſouldiers of thoſe coũtries he had ſubdued, as he dyd to hys owne nacion. Egyptians be a people that alwaies were offẽded with thencreaſe and good fortune of the Percians, who in their gouernemẽt ouer them, vſed much pride and couetouſnes. And therefore ſekinge all occaſions to reuolte, had receyued Amyntas which came to them rather by waie of treaty then by eny force, nowe ſpecially at Alexanders commyng plucked vp ther ſprightes, and aſſembled a great nombre to mete him at Peluſiũ where thei iudged he would enter. The .vii. daye he remoued from Gaza, he came to that place in Egipte whiche nowe is called Alexanders campe, from whence he ſent hys armye vnto pelluzium by the land way, and he him ſelfe wyth a choiſe band of mẽ was conueyed thether vpon the Ryuer of Nile. The Percians durſte not abide his commyng, being in doubt that the Egiptians would reuolte. And therefore when Alexander drewe nere vnto Memphis where Aſtaces Darius liuetenaunt was wyth a power of men of warre, he came ouer the Ryuer to mete Alexander, and yealdinge hym ſelfe, delyuered

Egiptyans.

Reuolte.

Alexander entered into Egipte.

Memphys

him

hym. viii. C. talentes, wyth all the ryches belonging to the kynge of Perce. From Memphis he paſſed vpon the ſame Riuer vnto the inwarde partes of Egipt, and ſet a ſtaie and order in the gouernement of the coūtrey in ſuch ſort, that he chaunged nothynge of theyr lawes and cuſtomes. Which thinge once brought to paſſe, he had a great deſire to viſite the Oracle of Jupiter Hāmon. But it was declared vnto him that the waye he hadde to go was not paſſable wyth eny great numbre, and that thoſe ought to be lighte, and trimmed mete to iourney wythout baggage or much cariage. The coūtrey he had to trauaile throughe was ſayde to be ſpread ouer al with barreine ſand, which once put in an heate with the ſunne, woulde burne their feete in ſuche ſort, that it ſhould be intollerable for them to iourney. And had to contend not onely wyth the heate and wante of water, but alſo wyth the rowlynge ſande, whyche was ſo deape, and woulde ſo ſinke vnder their feete, that it ſhoulde be great impediment vnto their trauayle. All whyche difficulties the Egiptians ſet forth to be greater then they were in deade. But Alexāder for the deſyre he had to excede mans eſtate, was ſo feruently bēt to viſite that famous Oracle of Jupiter, whom eyther he beleued, or coueted that other ſhoulde beleue to be his father, that nothyng could ſtaie him in performing of that enterpriſe. Therefore wyth ſuche as he had appoynted to accompanye him in that iourney, paſſed by water vpon Nile til he came to the Meare of Meotes. The Embaſſadours of the Cirenās came to him thither & brought him preſentes, whome he gently enterteined, aſſuring thē of his frendſhip. And yͤ done went forwardes in his voiage. The firſt & the ſeconde dayes trauaile ſeamed tollerable, not beinge yet come to the

Impaſſable

Intollerable.

Proſperitie maketh a man to forget, from whence he came.

The Cyrenians.

Tollerable

barreine & wild wildernes, & yet the groūd they paſſed on was but vnfruteful and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared that were couered ouer wyth depe ſand, they then loked and ſought a farre of wyth their eyes for the land, euē as men be accuſtomed to do whē they ſaile in the mayne Sea. For they could not iudge them ſelues on lande, where they neuer ſawe tree nor eny appearāce of habitacion or haūt of men. And water ther was none to be foūd in that drye and burning ſand, and ſuch as they had brought with thē in bottels vpon camelles backes, was conſumed and ſpent. Beſides the ſunne was ſo hotter that it dried and burned vp all thynges. When they were afflicted after thys maner, whither it were by the wil of god or by chaunce the clowdes ſodenly ouer welmed the ſkye, and ſo ſhadowed them that it was great cōfort to ſuche as were forweried with the heate, thoughe they wanted water to drynke. But to ſupplie their lacke therein ther fel by and by a great ſhoure which euery man (for the greate deſire they had to drinke) gaped to receyue wyth open mouth. Whē they had trauelled four daies in paſſing of theſe wilde deſertes, and were come neare vnto the place of the Oracle, there appeared a great ſwarme of Crowes flyinge lowe before the troupe, and when the hoſte marched ſoftly they ſat downe vpon the ground, and ſometyme flewe forwardes, as they had bene guides to ſhewe vnto tharmye the waye. At length they came vnto the place conſecrate vnto Jupiter, where as it was a wōder to ſe in the myddes of ſo wyld a deſert ſuch a groūd ſo enuironed on al partes with highe trees defending the heate of the ſunne, & ſuche a nūbre of ſpringes rūning euery where, which cauſe the woodes alwaies to loke greane. The ayer there al ſeaſons of

[illegible]

[illegible]

The wante of water, is great extremitie.

A trowpe of men.

Th: diſcripcion of Hamon.

of the yeare is like vnto the ſpring tyme, holeſome and temperate to liue in. This countrey doth border with the Ethiopes towardes the Eſte, and vpō the Arabies that they cal Troglodites vpō the ſouth: whoſe countrey ſtretcheth to the red ſea. It confineth wyth other Ethiopes that he called Simnos. Towardes yͤ north lieth a nacion called Naſamōs, who inhabitinge vpon a flat ſhore, be accuſtomed to liue on ſpoiles of the ſea, & lye alwaies in a wayte vpon the coſte to ſpoyle ſuch ſhips as ſuffre wracke. The people whych inhabite about the woode, be called Hammon, & dwel in cotagies ſcatered abrode. The middes of their woode cloſed about with a treble wall, is vnto theim as a Caſtle. In the fyrſt ward is the Palaice of their auncient kinges, in the ſeconde their wyues, children, and concubines were lodged, in whyche place the Oracle of Iupiter is is alſo. And the third is a place appointed for the mē of war. There is alſo an other wood hauing in the middes a ſpringe called the fountaine of the ſonne whych in the morning is luke warme, in the heate of the day it is colde, and in the eueninge warme againe: ſo that at mydnight it is ſcaldinge hoote, and as it draweth towardes daye, it deminiſheth his heate more and more. The ſame thinge that is worſhipped for Iupiter hath not the ſimilitude of other Images that craftes men do make for goddes, but is very like vnto the faſhiō of a nauel, hauing in the middes an Emeraude ſet about with pearles. Whē eny aūſwere is required, yͤ prieſtes carye the ſame in a ſhip of gold, yͭ hath manye plates of ſiluer hanging on both ſides. The matrones & the virgines folowe after ſinginge a rude ſonge after their countrey maner, wherby they beleue to obteyne of Iupiter to ſhewe his Oracle manifeſt and true. When

Holesome and Temperate.

Ethiopes.

Confyneth

The diſcription of the Idoll.

Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldeſte of the prieſtes whyche came to mete him ſaluted hym by the name of Iupiters ſonne: whoſe mynde (he ſayd) was, ỷ he ſhould ſo be called. Wherupō Alexander forgetting the ſtate of his mortalitie, ſaid: that he both did receyue & acknowledge ỷ name. Then he demaunded further, if thempire of the whole world were appoynted to hym by deſtinie. There the prophet prepared before to flattery, aunſwered: that the whole worlde ſhoulde come vnder hys obeyſaunce. After that he demaunded whether all ſuche had ſuffered death that murthered hys father. The prieſte aunſwered, that hys father coulde not be harmed by the treaſon of eny man, but he ſayde: that all Phillipes kyllers were put to death. And one thynge he added more: that he ſhould be inuincible tyll ſuche time as he ſhoulde departe to the goddes. Thervpon Alexander made ſacrifice, and both offered vnto the Idole, and gaue greate giftes vnto the prieſtes. He licenſed allſo hys frendes that they myght conſulte of the Oracle, for ſuch thynges as they woulde demaũd. Yet they enquyred no further: but if it were Iupiter his wil, that they ſhoulde worſhyp theyr kynge wyth deuine honours. To them it was aunſwered: that if they honoured their prince being victorer as a god, it ſhuld be acceptable vnto Iupiter. If he had wyth iudgemēt wayed the Oracle accordinge to the veritie, he ſhoulde well haue perceyued the vntruthe that was therein: but whome fortune hath brought to beleaue in her, ſhe maketh them many times more deſirous of glory, then able to receiue it. Alexander not only ſuffered, but alſo commaunded him ſelfe to be called the ſonne of Iupiter, and whyles he wente aboute to encreaſe the fame of hys actes, he dyd corrupt and deface them throughe

The flattery of the prophetes.

A digreſſion

ſuche

ſuch vaine titles. Whereby the Macedõs accuſtomed to be gouerned by kynges, but yet reſeruing a greater ſhadowe of libertie then other nacions, did withſtand him more arrogantly in affecting of hys immortalitie, then was eyther expediente for hym or them: but theſe thinges ſhalbe declared in tyme conuenient, for now I wil procede in the reſt of his doinges. When Alexander was returned from Hamon and come to the mariſſe of Mareotes ſcituate neare vnto the Iſle of Pharos, viewed the nature of the place, and was at the firſt determined to build a Citie within the Iſlande. But afterwardes cõſidering the Iſle not to be large inough, choſe out the ground where Alexandria is now (called by the name of the builder) conteynyng al that ground betwen the Meare & the ſea, the whych was in cõpaſſe as the walles went .lxxx. furlonges. When he had takẽ ordre for building of this Citie, lewing ſuch behind him as he had appointed for the performãce thereof, departed vnto Memphis. He had a deſire (not vnreaſonable if it had ben in time cõueniẽt) to haue viſited both the inwarde partes of Egipt, & alſo Ethiopia. And yͤ affectiõ he had to viewe antiquities, & the famous palaces of Memnon and Titon, had neare drawẽ him beyond the boundes of the ſunne. But the warres he had in hande being of much more momẽt thẽ eny ſuche idle peregrinacion, gaue him no time to fulfil hys fantaſie. Therfore he appoynted Aeſtilus a Rodyan, and Pewceſtes a Macedõ to the gouernãce of Egipt, aſſigning to thẽ iiii. thouſãde ſouldiers for defence of yͤ region, and gaue Poleman .xxx. galeis to kepe the mouthe of Nile. He made Apolleinus ruler of that part of Afrik, which ioyneth vnto Egipte, and Cliomenes receiuer of the tributes in both countreis. Thys newe Citye was ſone

The buil-
ding of Alex
andria.

Alexander.
buyldeth the
cittie of
Alexandria.

Memnon
Tyton

peregrinacion

Aeſtilus.
Pewceſtes.

Cliomenes

replenished wyth a greate multitude, for commaundement was geuen to all the Cities theraboutes, to ſend inhabiters vnto Alexandria. It is ſaide that when the kynge accordynge to the Macedons cuſtome vſed the ceremony of ſteaping barlye, at the making of the walles, that the birdes came & fed there vpon: which beyng taken of many for an vnlucky token: it was aūſwered by there deuiners, ỹ their ſhuld be great reſort of ſtraūgers to that citie, and that it ſhould giue norishment to many landes. As the king wēt downe the riuer of Nile, Hector Parmenis his ſonne deſierous to folow him was drowned, for the veſſel ſonke ỹ caried him, beinge peſtred with ouer many men. He ſtriued long wyth the ſtreame, but his garmentes gaue impedimente to hys ſwimminge, ſo ỹ his breath was neare gone before he could recouer the ſhore, where for want of ſuccoure he died. Whoſe vnfortunate chaunce Alexander toke greuouſly, as one ỹ did beare him ſpecial fauour, and therfore cauſed his bodye to be honorablye buried. The death of Andromachus lieutenaūt of Siria, whom the Samaritās had burned, was encreaſe of Alexanders ſorow, for the reuengment wherof, he made al the haſte he might, and at his cōming into Samaria, hadde the auctours of the acte deliuered into hys handes, whom he put to death, & then placed Memnon in Andromachus rowme. He deliuered into the Methimnās hādes Ariſtonicus, and Criſolaus, that had vſurped emonges thē, whom they after many greuous tormētes did hāg ouer their walles. That done he gaue audience to the Embaſſadours of the Atheniēs, the Rhodians, and the Sciottes. The Athenians did gratefye vnto hym hys victory, and required that ſuch Greakes as were takē priſoners, myght be reſtored to libertie. The Rhodiās

The Ryuer of Nile.

peſtrede.

The death of Hector Parmenios ſonne

Andromachus burned by the Samaritans.

Methimnās.

and the Sciotes demaunded aſſiſtaũce of ſome garriſon:he graunted to them all their requeſtes, and reſtoryng to the Mythelens al their pledges, encreaſed their territorie and dominion in reſpecte of the fidelitie they ſhewed vnto him,and the money that they had employed in the warres. He gaue honoure alſo accordding to their deſeruinges vnto the kinges of Cipres, whych reuolted from Darius vnto him,and had ayded him with ſhippes at the ſiege of Tyre. Amphoterus his admiral had cõmiſſion to driue the Perſians out of the Iſle of Crete,but ſpecially that he ſhuld rid the ſeas of the pirates,which troubled and ſpoiled al the Ilandes, whiles theſe two princes conuerted their powers one againſt another. When he had geuen order to al theſe thinges,he dyd dedicate to Hercules at Tyre,a greate ſtãding peace and .xxx. bowles of gould. That done he ſet his whole mind and care vpõ Darius,cauſing it to be proclaimed that euery man ſhould ſet forwardes towardes Euphrates. But Darius vnderſtandyng that his enemy was gone through Egipt into Affrick,ſtode in doubt whether he ſhould ſtay about Meſopotamia, or withdrawe into the inward partes of his kingdome: iudging that he ſhoulde be hable to worcke wyth thoſe farre nacions in bringinge of theym forwardes to the warres,that his lieuetenanut ſhould not be able to do. Yet whẽ the fame had publiſhed,and he vnderſtode by aſſured aduertiſment that Alexander was retourned out of Egipt,and fully reſolued to folowe him with all his power into what countrey ſoeuer he ſhould go:he then gaue order that the force of all the farre nacions ſhould drawe towardes Babilon,knowing ẏ ſtoutnes of his enemy he had to match withal. Thither reſorted bothe Bactrians, Scithians, and Indians, for the

Territorie

Alexander & Darius prepared to fight another battel.

power of other coũtreis were come thether before. And hauyng the double numbre of mẽ that he had before in Cilicia, prepared armoure for theym wyth diligence, wherof many of them had want. Both the horſemen and the horſes were armed with plates of ſtele. Such as before had no weapons but dartes, had ſwordes and bucklers geuen to them more. And to encreaſe the power of his horſmẽ, he deliuered many horſes to be broken eimonges the fotemen. He had prepared alſo. CC. wagons ſet with hokes, which in thoſe countreis were eſteamed things of great force, and iudged to be a wonderfull terrour to the enemye: they were made wyth great long pikes ſticking out before, and with ſwordes ſet ouerwhart on both ſydes. The wheales were alſo ful of Iron pikes ryght forth, and of great hokes both vpwarde and downewarde, wherewith al thynge was cut a ſondre that came in theyr waye. When hys people were thus furniſhed of armoure, and had prouided ſufficiently for the warres, he remoued from Babilon, and kepynge the ryuer of Tygre on his ryghte hand, and Euphrates on his left hand, ouerſpredde wyth his armye all the playnes of Meſopotamia. After that he paſſed Tigre, and vnderſtanding that his enemie was comminge at hand, firſt ſent Satrapaces before with a thouſand choſen horſemen, and afterwardes appointed ſyxe thouſand to Mazeus to ſtop Alexãder the paſſage of the Riuer. Who had alſo in commiſſiõ to waſte and burne al the countrey where he iudged that hys enemies ſhould come thynkinge to famyſhe theym for wante of vyctualles, conſiderynge that they had no other prouiſion but ſuch as they gote by rauyne, and by ſtealthe: they them ſelues hauyng plenty brought them both by lande and by the ryuer of Tigre. At lengthe

Tygre
Euphrates.

Tatrapaces

Mazeus

Arbella.

Licus.

Boumello.

he came vnto a village called Arbella, whiche was afterwardes famous by reaſon of his ouerthrowe. There he lefte the chiefe furniture of his victualles, and cariage, and made a bridge ouer the Riuer of Licus, and in fiue dayes conueyed ouer his armye, as he had done before ouer Euphrates: paſſyng forwardes from thence about four ſcore furlonges. He came vnto an other riuer called Boumello, & there encamped. The countrey ſerued wonderfull well, for the arrangyng of his battailes in the large playnes, paſſable for horſes euerye where, and without ſtubbes, or ſhorte bruſhe to couer the grounde withall, hauyng ſo free a proſpect, ỷ the eye might deſerne thinges a great waye of. And if there appeared eny hilles within the plaine, Darius cauſed the ſame to be caſte downe, and the grounde to be made ſmothe. Suche as by coniecture made report to Alexander of Darius power, coulde not be credited, for he could not thinke after ſo many ſlaine there coulde be a greater power gathered together, thẽ he hadde before. But he that neuer doubted eny peryll, and much leſſe the multitude of men, after the eleuẽth encampyng came to the Riuer of Euphrates, ouer the whiche he made bridges, paſſyng ouer his horſemen, and afterwardes his fotemen. For Mazeus that was ſente againſte him with ſixe thouſand horſemen to let his paſſage, durſte not encounter with him. When he had continued there a fewe dayes, not onely to reſt his ſouldiours, but alſo to confirme their mindes, and to encourage them, he ſet forwardes ſtoutely againſt his enemye, fearyng that they woulde haue retired backe into the inwarde partes of Perce, whether he ſhoulde haue bene enforced to folowe by waſte places and deſertes. Therfore the fourth daye he paſſed by Arbella,

This is ſcant
credible, that
ſo huge an a
rmie ſhould
paſſe not a
only famous
Ryvers, but
alſo the mountai
ne.

and came vnto the riuer of Tigre. All the cõtrey beyond the Riuer was on a ſmoke newlye ſette on fire by Mazeus, who burned all thynges where he came euen as he hadde bene an enemye. Alexander at the firſte by reaſon of the darckeneſſe of the ſmoke, ſtayed for feare of embuſhementes. But when they whiche were ſet to ſcoure the countrey, reported that all thing was cleare, he appointed a fewe horſemen to proue the paſſage of the Riuer, who founde the deapenes at the firſt enter to come to the horſe breaſte, and in the middes of the ſtreame to the horſe neckes. There is no riuer in all the eaſt partes of the worlde, that runneth ſo violẽtly, which beſides the waters of other riuers that do runne into it, driueth downe ſtones wt the ſtreame, ſo that of his ſwiftnes it is called Tigre, whiche in the Percian toung is ſo muche to ſaye as an arowe. The fotemẽ therfore deuided into two bandes, holding their armour ouer their heades, were encloſed on both ſides with the horſemen, and ſo paſſed till they came in the deape of the chanell, without eny great difficultye.

Embuſſhmente

The Riuer Tygre hath a ſtronge ſtreame

Tygre in the Perſians language, is an Arrowe.

The Kyng was the firſte emonges the footemen that paſſed ouer to the further ſyde, who wyth his hande (ſeyng his voyce coulde not be hearde) ſhewed the ſhallowe places vnto the ſouldiers. But they hadde muche payne to kepe their footyng by reaſon of ſtones wherupon they ſtumbled, and of the violence of the water that toke their feete away. Suche as caried burthens on their backes hadde the greateſt trauaile, whiche not beyng able to ſtaye theim ſelues by reaſon of the trouble of their cariage, were borne downe by violence of the ſtreame. And whiles euery man went aboute to recouer again his owne, there fel greater ſtrife emonges them

Contentions brawles, & diſſention.

them ſelues, then they had with the ſtreame. And the heapes of fardelles that fleated euery where vpon the water bare downe many. The king cried to them that it was ſufficiente to kepe their armoure, and lette the reſt go, promiſyng to recompence euery manne. But they neither folowed his counſaile, nor did as he commaunded thē, for beſides the noyſe that was emonges them, fear filled their eares as they were ſwimming & wading through the water. At lēgth where the ſtreame was moſt ſhalow they came forth, there being nothing miſcaried or wantyng emonges them all, ſauynge a fewe fardelles. If their enemies had made but a profer againſt theim, they might eaſelye haue bene put to diſtreſſe. But Alexanders continuall good fortune turned then his enemies awaye from him. With whyche fortune he paſſed the Riuer of Granike, when ſo manye thouſandes bothe of horſemen and fotemen kept the paſſage againſt him. After that ſorte he ouercame the multitude of his enemies in the ſtreyghtes of Cylicia. Thoughe his boldenes were ſuche, that it ſometime wanted praiſe, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out of all extreme peryll. If Mazeus hadde done hys parte, and ſette vpon theim as they were paſſyng the Riuer, he myghte eaſelye haue putte theim to diſtreſſe, beynge vnarmed and oute of order. But after the Macedones hadde armed them ſelues (beyng then to late) he began to ſhewe him ſelfe wyth a thouſande horſemen. When Alexander perceiued the ſmall number that came againſt him, he cauſed Ariſton capitayne of the Peonians to geue a full charge vpon them. The horſemen that day notably behaued theim ſelues, but in eſpecial Ariſton, which with his ſpeare rāne Satropaces the chefe captaine through the throte, & purſuing

Confusnes &
causethe men to
forgett theire dutie
bothe to god, &
theire prynce.

Ariſton.

him

An Eclips of the mone

&

Murmure

Mutteringe

im into the middes of his trope, threwe him from his orſe, and cut of his head, whiche to his great commen-ation, he brought and threwe downe before the kyng. Alexāder taried there two dayes, and againſt the mornyng cauſed warnynge to be geuen by proclamacion for his ſetting forwardes. But in the firſt watch of the night, the mone ſuffred eclips, which loſing her brightnes, afterwardes became as redde as bloude, & therw waxed dimme and darke. The ſtraungnes of this matter did ſtrike a religious feare emōges the Macedons wherof proceaded ſuche a doubte and dreade, that they fel into a murmure & grudging ẏ they ſhould be brought forwardes after ſuche a maner againſt the will of the Goddes, into the vttermoſt boundes of the earth, where as they were not able to paſſe the Riuers, nor could not enioye the accuſtomed vſe of the elementes, findyng nothinge but waſte groundes and wilde deſertes: all whiche was done (they ſaied) for the ambicion of one man, for whoſe vaineglorye the bloude of ſo many thouſandes ſhoulde be ſhedde. He deſpiſeth (qd they) his countrey, he hath forſaken Philip for his father, and affected heauen iu his foliſhe imaginacion. When Alexander perceyued the matter to come to a mutteryng, he that in all thinges was without feare, commaunded the chiefe rulers and capitaines of his men of warre to aſſemble at his pauilion, and there cōmaunded the Aſtronomers of the Egyptians (whom he iudged to haue moſte vnderſtandyng of the Planetes) to declare their opinions. They vnderſtandyng verye well the reuolutions of the tyme, and their appointed courſes, knew that the mone did euer eclipſe, whē that either ſhe wente vnderneth thearth, or elles when her light was blemiſhed by oppoſition of the ſunne, whiche light was blemiſhed by oppoſition of the ſunne, which reaſon conceyued emonges them ſelues, they accuſtomed not to teache the people. But affirmed that the Greakes were vnder the reſpecte of the Sunne, and the Percians vnder the Moone, and therfore ſo often as ẏ mone fadeth of her light, it ſignified great deſtruction to the nacions vnder that conſtellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs, they brought in olde preſidentes of the Kynges of Perce, to whom the Eclips of the moone had ſignified that the Goddes were againſt them in fightyng of their battayles. There is nothing more effectual then ſuperſtition to gouerne a multitude, whiche otherwiſe is without rule, madde, & mutable. But when they haue once cōceiued a religiō: thoughe it be but vayne, they be more obedient to their deuiners, thē to their capitaynes. Whiche thing might be well perceiued, when theſe aunſweres of the Egipcians were ſpread abrode emonges the people, for they ſtreightwayes were remoued from their dulnes, and diſpayre, and ſturred vp to hope and confidence. Alexander therfore that coulde vſe the time, and employ his souldiours in their good mode: in the ſecond watch remoued his campe, kepyng Tygre on his right hād, and the mounteynes whiche they call Gordeies on his left hand. By the ſpring of the day the ſcourers that he ſet before to diſcouer, returned to him wyth reporte that Darius was cōming. Then the ſouldiers prepared thē ſelfes to the fight, & marched forwardes in ordre of battaile. But thoſe ẏ diſcouered for the Percians, were but a. M. horſemen, whiche kepynge the ſcoute a farre of, ſemed to the Macedons to be a great army. The ſcourers commonly haue that propertie, that when they can not finde out the trueth, they imagen throughe feare

The force of ſuperſticion to gouerne a multitude

Scowrers.

Scowte.

thinges that be falſe. When Alexander vnderſtode the certaintye, he ſent out towardes them a ſmall numbre of his owne horſmen: at whoſe commyng thei fledde, & were partly ſlayne, and partly taken priſoners. That done, he ſent horſemen as well to diſcouer further, as alſo to quenche the fire whiche the Percians had made through all the countrey. For as they fledde away, they put fire into the ruffes of their houſes, & the ſtackes of corne, whiche ſone toke holde aboue, and conſumed all till it came to the grounde. By extinguiſhyng of thoſe fiers, great plentye of corne was founde, & abundaunce of all other thinges enſued emonges the Macedons. That was a matter whiche encouraged the ſouldiours greatly to purſue their enemies. For doubting leſt thei ſhould burne and conſume all ſuche thinges as might ſerue to their vſe: purſued them with al the ſpeade they could make: wiſdome growyng of neceſſitie. For Mazous whiche before did burne the countrey at leaſure, whē he ſaw him ſelfe purſued, fled away, & left vnto the Macedons the more parte vntouched. Alexander vnderſtandyng that Darius drew towardes him, & was come within an hundred and fiftye furlonges, made prouiſion of victualles, and remayned foure dayes in the ſame place. Darius letters were there intercepted, which he had written to the Greakes, in perſwaſion either to kyll or betraye Alexander. He doubted whether he ſhoulde recite the ſame letters openly or no, hauynge no miſtruſte of their beneuolence and affection towardes him. But Parmenio diſſwaded the puttyng of eny ſuche promiſes into the ſouldiours heades, conſideryng that the committyng of ſuche an acte conſiſted in one mans hande, & that couetouſnes iudged neuer eny thing vnlawful. He folowed Parmenios counſel,

Extinguiſſhinge

Wiſdome groweth of neceſſitie.

Intercepted.

Parmenio geveth wyſe councell.

Couetouſnes, neuer iudgethe eny thinge vnlawfull.

and ſo remoued his campe. As thei were marching, one of the Enukes that attẽded vpõ Darius wife brought worde how ſhe fainted, & was in great perill of death. For ſhe in verye dede was ſo weried wyth continuall trauayle of her iourney and care of mynde, that ſhe fell downe in a ſwowne betwixte her mother in lawe, and her yong daughter, & ſo died. He had not ſo ſone told the tale, but an other came with tidynges that ſhe was dead in dede: wherat Alexãder was no leſſe ſorowful, then if his owne mother had bene in the ſame caſe, and wepyng no leſſe then Darius ſhoulde haue done, repayred into the tent where Darius mother was ſittynge by the deade bodye. There his ſorowe renued when he ſawe her lye proſtrate vpõ the ground, who by the chaũce that preſently fell, being put in remẽbraũce of hir aduerſitie by paſt, embraſed in his armes Darius .ii. daughters, a cõfort to her in their mutuall dolour, but that ſhe was enforced to comfort thẽ. Hir yong nephew ſtode in her preſẽce, the more to be pitied, becauſe that for his youth, he yet vnderſtode not the calamitye that was growyng towardes him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wepte for his owne cauſe, whiche lamented, and woulde receiue no comforte, but abſteyned from meat, & reſerued all honour to be done to the dead corſe after the coũtrey cuſtome of the Perciãs. Worthy he was hereby to receiue the due reward of ſuch; his mekenes & continẽcy. He had only ſene her once before, whiche was the daye of her takynge, and then came not to viſite her, but Darius mother. The excellencye of her beautie was no prouokement to him of luſt, but of glory. Of thoſe Enukes that were about the quene, there was one Tyriotes, which during this mournyng and lamẽtation, eſcaped by a gate that was vnwarded, and fled vnto the Percians campe, where

The dethe of Darius wyff, wch Alexander Lamented greatly.

Darius to Tyriotes.

Take hede thou concealeſt no=
thinge from my
miſſerable eares
I haue lerned
to be vnfortunate
It is often tymes
a comfort of a
mans calamitie
to knowe his miſ
happe .

Amaſement .

Darius exclamatiō in his ſorow.

he was by the watchmen brought to Darius preſence. When Darius ſawe him lamentynge and tearyng of his clothes, he was in a wōderfull expectation what his ſorow ſhould be, doubtyng what thing he myght feare moſte. Thy countenaunce (qd he) declareth that ſome great miſchiefe is happened. Take hede thou cōcealeſt nothing from my miſerable eares. I haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is often tymes a comforte of a mans calamitie to knowe his miſhappe. Is it not the miſuſyng of my wife & children that thou wouldeſt tell me? which is the thing I ſuſpect moſte and feare to vtter, and (as I beleue) is more greuous vnto them then eny kinde of torment. Nothing leſſe (qd Tiriotes) The ſame honour ẏ was geuen vnto thē by your ſubiectes, the like is vſed by him that is victorer. But your wife is the cauſe of my amaſemente, whiche is euen nowe deade. Whē that word was once ſpoken, there was nothing but lamētatiō & howling out through the campe. And Dariꝰ could not be otherwiſe perſwaded but that ſhe was ſlayne, becauſe ſhe woulde not conſent to her miſuſement, and in the vehemencye of his ſorow, cried out. O Alexander, what ſo great an offence haue I committed againſte thee? whom of thy kynred haue I ſlaine, that thou ſholdeſt requite me with this crueltie? Thou haſte done it without enye prouokemente of my parte. But be it ſo that thou doeſt moue a iuſte warre againſte me, yet is it thy parte therfore to kepe warre with women? Tyriotes therupō did ſweare by the goddes immortall, that there was no kynde of vilany done vnto her, but ẏ Alexander lamēted her death, & wept no leſſe thē he him ſelfe would haue done. Thoſe wordes did driue him into further ſuſpicion & ielouſie, cōiecturing ẏ Alexanders behauour therin, had riſen vpon the familier conuerſacion had betwixt them. Therfore he auoyding all perſons frō him ſauing onely Tyriotes, and left his weping but yet ſobbing for ſorowe ſaid vnto hym: Thou ſeeſte nowe, Tyriotes that lyes canne take no place. Tormētes ſtreight wais ſhalbe brought before the. I require the therfore if eny reuerence of thy prynce remayne within thy harte, tel me wythout compulcion the thing that I deſire to knowe and am aſhamed to enquire. Is it poſſible being of the age yͤ he is, and hauing her in his handes, that he ſhould not attempt her. Tyriotes offered him ſelf to be cacked in tryall of the cauſe, and called the gods to wytnes, that ſhe was neuer vſed but chaſtly & reuerently. At lēgth when he was once perſuaded that hys wordes were true, hee couered his face weping a longe ſpace. And afterwardes the teares yet diſtilling down his chekes, vncouered his face, and holding vp his handes to heauen, ſaid. O you goddes that I do worſhip, I requyre you cheiflie to eſtabliſhe this kingdome vnto my ſelfe. But if ye haue determimed my ruyne and decay, then my requeſte is that none maie reigne as kynge in my domynion, but euen he that is ſo iuſte an enemy, and ſo mercifull a victorour. And therfore though he had twiſe before required peace at Alexander his handes & preuailed not, but had cōuerted al his mind towardes the warres: yet he was thē ſo ouercome with the continencye of his enemy, that he ſent ten of the chiefeſte of his bloud as Embaſſadours to treate with him vpō condicions of peace. Alexander calling a counſel gaue them preſence, to whom the eldeſt ſpake in thys wiſe. That Darius hath nowe the thirde tyme demaunded peace of you, no powre hath cōpelled him, but your iuſtice & cōtinencye hath moued him. He ſhulde not per-

Diſtillinge

Darius him
ſelf commendith
Alexander for
his clemencie.

The worde
of Darius
Embaſſa-
dours,

ceiue ỹ either his mother, wife, or children were priſoners, ſauing for want of their cõpani, you taking care of their chaſtities whiche remaine on lyue lyke a father, you gyue to them the honoure appartaining, and ſuffer thẽ to cõtinewe in their former eſtate. I ſe that dolorouſnes in your face, that I ſawe in Darius when I parted from hym, and yet he dothe mourne for hys wife, and you for your enemye. And if the care of her buriall hadde not bene, you hadde nowe ſtande in batailein redines to fyght. Is it enye marueile therefore if he require peace of ſuche one, that is ſo frendly diſpoſed towardes him? What ſhall they nede to contende wyth armes, betwene whome there remayneth no hatred. In his former treaties he offred ỹ the Ryuer of Alys whych boundeth vpon Lydia ſhould be the confynes of your empire, but nowe he profereth you in dowre with his doughter to be deliuered out of hand al thoſe countreis that lie betwene Helleſpõt and Euphrates. For the performance of whiche his promiſſe, & for the obſeruing of peace, Occhus his ſonne nowe in your poſſeſſion ſhall be the pledge for hys parte. Hys requeſte is to haue his mother, and his two doughters reſtored vnto hym, for which thre you ſhal receiue .xxx. thouſand Talentes. Except I knewe the moderation that is in you, I woulde not be ſo bold to ſay that this is a time whẽ you ought not only to graunt peace, but alſo to ſeke for it your ſelfe. Loke backe & behold what a great thing you leaue behind you, & forſe howe much it is that you couet before you. Ouer great an empyre is daungerous. And it is harde to hold that you be not able to receiue. Do you not ſe that thoſe ſhippes which be of exceading greatnes, that they can not well be gouerned. Judge that to be the cauſe that Darius loſte

Moderation

ſo muche, bicauſe that ouermuche is the occaſion of much loſſe. It is more facill to get many thinges then to kepe a fewe, how much more eaſlye do our handes catche, then holde ſtyll. The verie deathe of Darius wyfe nowe doth ſhewe, that you haue not ſo great occaſion to ſhewe mercy as you had before. The Embaſſadoures were remoued vnto an other place, and he debated in counſell hys opynion. It was longe before eny durſte vtter what they thought, becauſe they were vncertaine how the king was enclined. At lēgth Parmenio ſpake, and ſaied, my opiniō was euer that ẏ priſoners taken at Damaſco ſhould haue bene deliuered to ſuch as would redeme thē, wherby a great ſōme of money might haue bene made of them, whych now remaining in captiuitie, peſter ẏ hādes of many a mā of ſeruice. And nowe I thinke moſt neceſſarye of al, ẏ you exchaung for .xxx. talentes of gold, this olde womā and ẏ two yong damoſels, which be but impedimētes and diſturbaunce to you in your iourneis. Here is a riche realme to be gotten by treatye wythout eny haſard of battaile. For there was neuer none before you (q̄d he) ẏ was lord of al ẏ coūtreys in length & breadth lying betwene Iſter & Euphrates: he wylled hym therfore rather to haue reſpect towardes Macedonia, thē to loke forwardes towardes Bactria & the Indiās. His wordes liked not ẏ king, & therfore ſo ſone as Parmenio had made an end of his tale, he made this anſwere: And I if I were Parmenio, would rather deſire money then glory. But now ſeing I am Alexander, I am not in eny doubt of pouertie, & haue cōſideration ẏ I am a king, & no marchaunt. I haue nothing wherof I wyll make ſale, and much leſſe ſell my fortune. If I

Hee that hathe manie
thinges, can
loose manie thinges.

More easie to
get, then to kepe
that which is gotten.
more easie to be
catched, then to be
holden still.

Parmenios opynion cōcerning the raunſōming of priſoners

Pester

Disturbaunce

Oft tymes good
councell is re-
fused, & [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
as then Parmenio.

were

were in minde to deliuer the priſoners, it were muche better to geue them frelye, then to raunſome them for money. Hereupou he called in the Embaſſadours, and anſwered thẽ in this ſort. Shewe you to Darius that geuing of thankes is but waſte to a mans enemy, and let hym not thinke, that I haue had eny reſpect to his frendſhip in thoſe thinges that I haue done of mine owne clemency & liberalitie. Nor let him not impute the ſame in eny wyſe towardes hym ſelf, but to the inclinacion of mine owne nature, and that I contende not againſt mens calamities, but agaynſt the force of mine enemies. I vſe not to make warre wyth women and priſoners, for he muſte be armed to whome I ſhall ſhewe my hatred. And though it were ſo in dede that he mente good faith in hys peace aſkynge, yet peraduenture I woulde aduiſe me before I would conſente. But ſeyng that at ſometyme he hath by his letters prouoked my ſouldiers to betray me, and at other time ſturred vp my frendes wyth mony to my deſtruction: I muſt purſue him to the vttermoſte, not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh hys thinges bi treaſon. If I ſhould accept the condicions of peace that you do bring, I ſhould acknowledge him to be victorour, which liberally doth geue me al that is behinde the ryuer of Euphrates, not conſideryng in what place I ſpeake now vnto you. Haue you forgote that I am paſſed the ryuer of Euphrates, & encamped beyond the boundes ye proffer me in dowre: driue me from hence that I maye knowe the ſame to be yours, wherwith ye would infeoffe me. He proffereth me his doughter with no greater liberalitie, then he would do to one of his ſeruauntes. Dothe he thynke to do me a pleaſure in preferring me to be hys ſonne in lawe be-

Alexanders aunſwere to the Embaſſadours.

Divinelie
& Bravely
set out.

fore Mazeus: Go and ſhewe this to your kyng, that both the thing he hath loſte, and that he hath yet in poſſeſſion, ſhall be vnto me rewardes of the warre, which warre ſhall diſcuſſe the boundes of both our Empires, and bi the fortune of ẏ battaile we ſhal fight to morow, appoincted to eche of vs our limittes. Let him knowe that I came not into Aſia to receiue, but to geue. If he would haue bene content to be ſecond perſone, and not coueted to be equal wͭ me, I would peraduẽture haue graũted his requeſt. But as two ſonnes can not ſhine on the earth at once, ſo likewiſe two ſuch great kingdomes can not be at one time, without ẏ ſubuerſion of ẏ world. Therfore let him either this day yelde him ſelfe, or els prepare againſt ẏ morowes fight, nor let hĩ not parſuad him ſelf to haue other fortune, thẽ he hath proued alreadi. The Embaſſadours replied: ẏ ſeing he was reſolued to proced wͭ warre, he did roially in ẏ he was plaine; & did not fode thẽ forth wͭ hope of peace. Their requeſt was therfore ẏ thei might be diſpatched to their Prince, to warne him to prepare him ſelfe likewiſe. Whẽ thei returned, thei brought word ẏ ther was no way but prepare for ẏ fight. Wherfore Darius ſent Mazeus out of hande wͭ thre thouſande horſemen to kepe the paſſages, whereby ẏ Macedõs ſhould paſſe. When Alexander hadde perfourmed the funeralles of Darius wife, leuyng wyth a ſmall guariſon al ſuch as were vnprofitable for the fyght, within the ſtrength of hys campe, ſette forwarde towardes his enemies. His footemen were deuided into two battailes, empaled with horſemen on both ſides, and his cariage went in the myddes. He ſente Medinas wyth horſemen vpon the ſpoores, to diſcouer where Darius was:

Who comming within the viewe of Mazeus, durſte not paſſe eny further, but brought reporte that he could heare nothing but the noyſe of mē, and neying of horſes. Mazeus likewiſe diſcouered them and returned backe to Darius, declaring that his enemies were cōming: Then Darius, whoſe deſire was to encounter his enemies in the playne and open fieldes, commaunded his men to be armed and deuided them into two partes, wherof the one marched on the left hand, and the other on the ryght. In the battaile on the left hand a .M. of the Bactrian horſemen hadde the firſte place, with the like nōbre of Dahans, and .iiii.M. Arachoſians and Suſians, after which band of horſemē there folowed .C. hoked wagons, and behind thē Beſſus with an other band of .viii.M. Bactrian horſemē, & .ii.M. Maſſagetes. The fotemen of diuers naciōs came next in ordre of battaile, not mixed togither, but eche countreimē by them ſelues. Ariobarzanes & Oribates had the gouernment of the Perſians, Mardiās and Sogdians. But their charge was deuided, & Orſines that was come of the .vii. Perſians, & of yͤ bloud of noble king Cyrus had yͤ rule of yͤ whole. Other nacions folowed whoſe names were ſcarſely knowen to their owne company. Cradatus was the next, whiche hauing alſo fiftie hoked wagōs, placed a band of Caſpian horſemen before them, and behind them the Indians and other the inhabiters of the redde ſea: rather names of men then good aſſiſtaūce. This ſquare was empaled with fiftie wagons, vnto the which the Mercenary ſouldiers were ioyned. After them folowed the men of Armeny the leſſe. then the Babilonians, and next the Bellitans with ſuch as inhabite the Coſſean mountaynes. The Gortuans came next, which ſome-

tyme

The ordre of Darius batayles.

Beſſus.

Ariobarzanes.

Crodates.

The Indians, men in name but not in dede.

tyme folowed the Mediās out of Euboia, but at thoſe dayes degenerated from their countrey cuſtomes. The Phrigians, Cathonians, and Parthians, encloſed the tayle. This was the battaile on the left hand. In the battayle on the ryght hand were the people of ẏ greater Armenur, ẏ Caduſiās, Capadociās, Siriās and Medians, who had fifty yoked wagons. The ſome of his whole army was .xlv. M. horſemē, & .CC. thouſand footemē. When they were placed in ordre of battayle, they marched forwardes ten furlōges, and then were commaunded to ſtay. Whiles the Perciās after that maner taried for their enemies, there fell a ſodein feare emonges the Macedons: wherof their appeared no cauſe, & yet euery mā was amaſed, & a ſecrete dread entred into their hartes. The lightening ẏ fell out of the ayer being in the ſomer ſeaſon ſemed like fier, and the flames ſodainly appearing, were thought to come from Darius campe. If Mazeus whiche was ſent to obſerue their comming, had ſet vpon them whiles they were in this feare, he might haue done thē ſome notable domage. But he was ſlack to do his enterprice, & remained vpon the toppe of an hill, cōtented that he was not aſſailed. Alexāder perceiuing ẏ terrour that was come emonges his mē, made a ſigne for them to ſtaye, and gaue ordre that they ſhould vnarme thē ſelues, & refreſhe their bodies: geuing them to vnderſtād that there was no cauſe why they ſhould ſo ſodeinely conceiue a feare, ſeing their enemies were yet a good diſtaunce from them. At length, when he perceiued they had recouered their ſpirites, he exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothing more expedient for the caſe preſent, then to fortifie his campe in the ſame place. The

degenerated.

The numbre of Darius men, 45000 horsmen. 200 thousand fotemen.

next daye Mazeus whiche had planted hym ſelfe on a hygh hill, from whence he might beholde his enemies campe, either for feare, or els becauſe hys commiſſion was but only to diſcouer, returned agayne vnto Darius. Upon his departure the Macedons by ⁊ by toke the hill which he had forſaken, the ſame being of more ſtrength then the playne where they remayned before, from whence thei might beholde their enemies campe. And though the miſte which the moiſtye hilles did caſt forth, toke not away clearely the vſe of the proſpect: yet it letted them to deſerne the deuiſion of their enemies battailes, and their ordre, the multitude of whom ouerſpreade the feildes, and the noyſe of ſuche a nombre fylled their eares, thoughe they were farre of. Then Alexander began to reuolue in hys heade, and debate wyth hym ſelfe, one whyle Parmenios opinion, and another tyme hys owne. For he was come ſo far forth that he could not retire except he were victorer, wythout the great deſtruction of hys armye. The multitude of hys enemyes moued hym muche in reſpecte of hys ſmall numbre. Yet on the other parte he remembred what great actes he had done with thē, and howe many nacions he had vainquyſhed. So that hope ſurmountynge hys feare, he thoughte it moſte daunger of al, to defer the battaile eny lenger, leſt deſperation might growe emongeſt his men, and therefore diſſemblyng the matter, cauſed the Marcenarye horſemen and the Peones to paſſe on before, and deuided hys Phalanx (as it hath bene ſaied before) into two battayles, and empaled the ſame wyth horſemen on both ſides. By that time yͤ myſte auoyded, and it began to wax cleare, yͤ ordre of their enemies appearing manifeſtly. The Macedons then whether it were of courage, or for that they were impaciente to tarie eny lenger, made ſuch a ſhoute as men of warre vſe when they ioyne in battaile, the like was alſo made by ẏ Parcians. Then the woodes and valeis rounde aboute, rebounded wyth the terrible ſounde. The Macedons could not obſteyne eny lenger, but would haue runne forwarde towardes their enemyes. But Alexander thought it better to fortifie his campe vpon that hyll, and ſo commaunded it to be entrenched aboute. Which worke beyng ſpedely performed he entered in his tent, frō whence he might behold ẏ whole army, his enemies hoſt. Thē the whole faſhion ⁊ fourme of the daūger ẏ was at hand, was preſented before hys eies: both horſemē ⁊ fotemē gliſtred in their bright armour, and al thinges were prepared wyth great diligēce. He beheld the care of the captaines in his enemies campe, howe they did ride vp ⁊ downe to ſet thinges in ordre. And diuers thinges whiche were but vaine in dede: as the noyſe of mē, ẏ neying of horſes, ⁊ the gliſtering of their armour, troubled yet ẏ mind that was carefull in the expectacion of the matter. Therefore whether it were that he was not fully reſolued in his mind or els to proue the mindes of ſuch as were aboutes hym, called hys frendes to conſulte what was beſt to do. Parmenio that was the moſte expert man emonges al the captaines in the feates of warre: thought good not to giue his enemies playne battaile, but rather to ſet vpō them in the dead time of the night, wherby he thought they might eaſely be diſcomfited: ſuppoſyng that they emōges whō there was ſo great diuerſitie of cuſtomes, and alteration of language. could neuer aſſemble wel togither, ſpecially whē they ſhould be put ſodainely in feare in ẏ night time beinge a ſleape: wheras in ẏ day

Parmenio his opinion.

tyme

Alexanders aunſwere.

The propties Theues, is to worke by ſleight and deceite.

time the ſhape of the Scithians and Bactrians with their rough faces, and longe heare, beſydes the hugenes of their bodies ſhuld appeare terrible. And argued howe ſouldiers were moꝛe moued with vaine cauſes of feare, and ſuch as were of no momente, then with ſuche as were iuſte cauſes in dede. He declared alſo how their enemies by reaſon of their great multitude, ſhoulde be able to encloſe there ſmall numbꝛe rounde aboute: and that they ſhoulde not nowe fyghte in the ſtreightes & narowe paſſages of Cilicia but in an opē and large playne. They all in maner agreed to Parmenios ſaying: and Policarpon was of a playne opinion, that the victoꝛie conſiſted in the pointe which he had deuiſed. The kyng that befoꝛe had taunted Parmenio moꝛe bitterly then he thought good, woulde not checke him againe, but beheld Policarpon, and ſayed: That Policie ẏ you aduiſe me, partaineth to ſtealers and theues, foꝛ it is their pꝛopertye to woꝛke by ſleight and diſceite. I wil no moꝛe ſuffre that either Darius abſence, the ſtreightnes of the ground, oꝛ the ſtelthe in the night, ſhalbe an hinderaunce to my gloꝛye. I am plainely determined to haue to do with him in the opē daye, and had rather repent me of my foꝛtune, than be aſhamed of my victoꝛy. Beſides thys it is to be conſidered, that the Parcians keape good watch, and ſtand armed alwayes in a redines to receyue vs whereof I haue aduertiſement, ſo that they can not be deceiued that way. Therefoꝛe there doth remayne no moꝛe, but that you pꝛepare your ſelues to the battayle. When he had by theſe woꝛdes put thē in a courage, he diſmiſſed them from counſell, to refreſhe their bodies. Darius coniecturing that his enemies would haue done the ſame thing ẏ Parmenio did perſuade, cauſed the hoꝛſes to ſtand to ſtande ready brideled the whole night, and the more parte of hys hoſte to continue armed, and keape good watche. His campe ſhone bright with the fiers yͭ were made & he him ſelfe with his capitaines & kinſfolkes went about his battailes that ſtode in order & in armes making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars and to yͤ euerlaſting fier, that they woulde inſpire vnto them a fortitude of mynd, that might aunſwer to the auncient glory and actes of his predeceſſours. And ſhewed if yͤ mynde of man were able to conceyue eny tokens or ſignes of the goddes fauoure or aſſiſtaũce, it was no doubte but that thei were bent on their ſide, hauing already ſtriken a ſodein feare emonges the Macedons: which (he ſaid) might be ſene by their rũning here ~~had~~ there, by the cariyng and caſting of their armour. And that the gods which toke care of the Percians Impire, were nowe determined to puniſhe thoſe cowardes: Whoſe captayne (qd he) being of no other ſorte then yͤ reſte, was like vnto theſe wild beaſtes, which through gredines of yͤ praye yͭ they do couet, fall into yͤ ſnares that be ſet for them. The like care was emonges the Macedons, for as though the matter ſhuld haue bene tried that night, thei paſſed it ouer in doubte and feare. Alexander him ſelfe that was neuer ſene in ſuch feare before that time, called for Ariſtander to make vowes & prayers, who in a white garment cariyng Uerbenes in his hand, wͭ his heade couered, went before the king calling vpon Jupiter, Mynerua & Uictoria. When he had thus perfourmed his ſacrifice according to their religiõ, retourned into his Pauiliõ to reſt yͤ reſidue of yͤ night. Yet he could neither reſt nor ſleape, but continually debated wͭ him ſelf which way he ſhuld aſſaile his enemies: One while he was of opiniõ to giue hys

and.

A triompht, before the con= queste.

The stoutest are some tyme brought in feare.

Alexander ouergonn wth superstition, & Religion.

fyrſte

firſt onſet vpō that battaile of the Perciians ẏ ſhould come on his right hande: Sometyme he determined to mete his enemies in the verie fronte, and an other while was in doubte whether it were better to ſet firſt on their left battaile. At length his body became heauy with trauayle of the mynd, and fel into a ſound ſlepe. Whē the day appeared, the capteines aſſembled about the kynges pauilion, to receyue their charge. Where they ſtode amaſed wyth greater ſilence then they were accuſtomed. Foꝛ they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wonte to call vpon other men, and to repꝛoue ſuche as were ſlowe oꝛ negligent, not to be then ſtyrring when the matter was come to the poincte of the extreme daunger. And many were of opinion that he ſlept not, but ſhꝛonke foꝛ feare, yet foꝛ all that none of them that were aboute hys perſon durſte attempte to wake hym. In the meane ſeaſon the tyme paſte away, and the ſouldiers myghte neither put on their armour, noꝛ go in oꝛdꝛe of battayle, wythout commaundemente of their head. When they hadde thus taried a good whyle, Permenio gaue commaundement they ſhoulde fall to meate. At length when the tyme came, that of neceſſitie they muſte ſette their battayles, he entered into the kynges lodgyng, and called vpon hym dyuers tymes by his name, but whē he could not awake him with his voyce, he ſturred hym with his hand: It is far foꝛth, daye (quod he) and your enemies come foꝛewardes in oꝛdꝛe of battayle, and your ſouldiers beyng yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement geuen thē what they ſhal do. Where is that cherefulnes and courage of yours become, which were wonte to ſtirre vp other men. Alexander made aunſwere vnto hym: Thinke you that I coulde

Parmenio to Alexāder

Parmenio
a moste &
fine counsellor,
and a true
subiect.

ſlepe

ſleape before I had rid my ſelf of the care yͤ letteth me to take my reſt: and therupõ cauſed the trompettes to blowe to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued ſtill in admiracion that he in ſuche a time coulde ſlepe ſo quietly. It is no marueile (quod Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, waſted the villages, and deſtroyed the victualles, I could then in no wyſe be quiet. But now what cauſe haue I of feare, ſeyng he prepareth him ſelfe to fight: He hath nowe fullfylled my deſire, reſorte you where your charge lyeth, and I will ſtreyghtwayes come to geue ordre emonges you, and reaſon this matter afterwardes. He vſed ſeldome to take his frendes aduiſe when eny doubte or daunger was at hande. When Parmenio was gone he armed him ſelf, and came forewardes emonges the ſouldiers. They ſeing him loke ſo cherefully as they had not done before time, conceyued by the boldnes of his coũtenaunce a certayne hope of the victory. Then he cauſed yͤ trenches of his campe to be caſte downe, that the ſouldiers might haue free paſſage forth, and ſo did ſet his battailes in ordre. The horſemen whiche they call Agema of whome Clitus was Capitaine, were ſet in the wynge of his right hand battayle, to whome he ioyned Philotas and other Capytaines. The laſte bande of horſemen was Meleagers, whyche wente nexte vnto the ſquare battayle of footemen that the Macedõs name Phalãx. After the Phalanx folowed the Argyraſpides, of whome Nycanour the ſonne of Parmenio was Capitaine. Cenos with his band was appoincted to be a relief: Horeſtes and Lynceſta, came next in ordre, and after them Polycarpon that had the rule of the ſtraungers, and Phylagus whiche had the rule of the Balacrons. And thys was the ordre of A-

lexanders

It argueth a
more raſshnes,
then wiſdome,
to refuſe good
counsell.

The ordre that Alexãder vſed at the battaile of Arbella.

Argiraſpides.

lexanders battaile,in the ryght warde whereof Amintas was cheife. In the lefte battaile Craterus had the charge of the Pelopenenſion horſemen,and with him alſo the bandes of the Acheians Locrenſians, and Moleanenſiãs,and the laſte tropes were the horſemẽ of Theſſalie,vnder Phylip their Capitaine. Thus the horſemen couering the footemen, made the front of the left battaile. And leſt the enemies through their multitude ſhould encloſe the battaile about,he planted a great force behinde for the releife of that matter,and ſet a releife alſo vpon the winges, not in front wyth the reſte but vpon the ſides, to the intent that if the enemies attempted to compaſſe aboute the battailes, that thei ſhould be ready to kepe them doing. Thoſe that occupied yͤ places of releife were yͤ Agriãs,of whõ Attalus was capitaine,and the archers of Create ioyned vnto them. Such as ſtode in the hinder partes of the battailes,were ordred to turne their faces from the frontwardes, becauſe that being in a redines euerye waye, the battayles in euerye place ſhoulde be of lyke force. They whyche ſtode wyth their faces contrarywiſe were the Illirians,and the Marcinary ſouldiers, wyth the Thracians that were lyght harniſed, Theſe hys battayles were ſette ſo aptly to be turned euerye waye, that ſuche as ſtode in the hinder partes coulde not be encloſed about, but mighte towardes eche part make their fronte: So the fronte, the flanckes, and the hinder partes were all of lyke force. When he had ſet his mẽ in ordre after this maner, he gaue commaũdement,that if the Perciãs ſhould put forwardes vpõ them their hoked wagons wyth a crie or noiſe,that thẽ they ſhould open their battailes and receiue thẽ wyth ſilence, not doubting but yͭ they ſhoulde paſſe through

wythout

without harme doyng,if no man did reſiſte them. But if thei ſhuld come without eny ſhoute or clamour,that then they themſelues ſhoulde make a crie to feare the horſe withal ;and ſo with pikes thruſt them in on euery ſyde. They which had the charge of the battailes were commaunded to extende them ſo muche in breadth as they myght,leſte by ſtanding ouer cloſe,they myght be enuironed,and yet not to ſtretche them ſo farre out,to leaue the places voyde or thinne in ẏ middes. The cariage and the priſoners (emonges whom Darius mother was) were ſet in the toppe of an hill, with a ſmall guard about them. The charge of the left battaile was cōmitted to Parmenio,as was accuſtōed before tyme, and Alexander him ſelfe was in the other. When they were come neare togither, one Bion came flying frō the Perſian hoſte in all the haſte he could make , and declared vnto the kyng that Darius had planted Irō galtoppes , where as he thought his horſemen ſhould paſſe, and by a certayne ſigne ſhewed hym the place, bycauſe it myghte be auoyded. Alexander wylled the the fugytiue to be kepte ſafe, and aſſembled all hys captaines together, declaring ẏ matter;and exhorting them to make their ſouldiers priuie to the daunger, for eſchewyng the place poynted out to them . But all that were in ſo great an armie could not heare ẏ warning giuen, the noyſe of both armies taking away the vſe of the eares. But Alexāder riding betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortacion to ẏ Capitaines, & to al other that were within hearing. He declared that there was but one haſarde remayning to them that hadde paſſed through ſo many coūtreis,in hope of the victorie which they were now ready to fight for. Therupō he reduced to their memorie the battailes they had fought , at the

Alexanders exhortacion to hys men.

Ryuer of Granike, in the mountaynes of Cilicia, and wyth what ſpede they had paſſed ouer both Syria and Egipt, the rehearſal wherof put thẽ in great hope and pricked them forwardes to the deſire of glorie. He ſhewed that the Percians being withdrawen againe frõ their former flying, were nowe cõpelled to fight of neceſſitie, becauſe they could fle no further, and how that thre days togither amaſed for feare, thei had remained ſtill in one place wyth their armour on their backes. Of whoſe diſpaire (he ſayd) there coulde be no greater argument, then yͭ thei had ſet on fire their owne countrey, confeſſing all to be their enemies, that they deſtroyed not. He exhorted them not to feare the vaine names of vnknowen nacions, for it was a thing nothing partynent to the moment of the matter, whiche were called Scythians or Caduſians. For that they were vnknowen nacions, was the greateſt token that they were mẽ of no valour. For becauſe ſuch as be valiant mẽ could neuer be vnknowen in the world. And contrariwyſe daſtardes, whẽ they come forth of their dennes, bring nothing wyth them but names of men, where as you (qd he) that be Macedõs haue obteyned by your vertue and manhode, that there is no cõtrey in the world ignoraunt of your actes. He willed them to behold the euil order that was in their enemies hoſt, of whom ſome had no weapõ but a darte, other a ſling to caſte ſtones, & verye fewe had ſuch armour as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great nõbre on the other parte, yet (he ſaide) they had more on their ſide that ſhoulde come to hande ſtripes. And that for hys parte he would not require eny man to aduenture hym ſelfe, excepte he were an enſample to them to ſhewe valiãtnes and courage. For he promiſed that he

pertinent

A valiant Captaine will will be one of formoste.

he ſhould be ſene fighting with the formoſt, knowinge that ſo many woundes as he ſhoulde get, ſhoulde be ſo many ornamentes to his perſone. He ſayde, they them ſelues knewe that he woulde be no partaker of yͤ pray, but that euer his cuſtome was to beſtowe the rewardes of the victorie to theyr behoue and cōmoditie. Hys former wordes he ſhewed to be ſpoken to ſuche as were men of courage, but if there were eny that were otherwyſe, he had to ſaye vnto them: that they were come to the place from whence they coulde not fle, hauyng left ſo many countreis behinde thē whych they had paſſed ouer, & ſo manye riuers & moūtaines at their backes. So that nowe there was no way to their houſes and countrey, but ſuche as they muſt make open with their owne handes. This was the exhortacion he gaue vnto the capitaines, and to ſuche of the ſouldiers as ſtoode next him. Darius that was in his lefte battaile accompanied wyth a choyſe band of elect horſmen and fotemen, diſpiſed the ſmall numbre of his enemies, theyr battailes appearing to hym thinne and voyde of men, when he ſawe their winges ſtretched ſo far abrode. He ſtode therfore in his Chariot on hie, and turnyng hym ſelfe both on the right hande and the left, ſpake in thys ſort to ſuch as were aboute him. We that not longe a go were lordes of al the countries lying betwixt Helleſpont & the Oceā ſea, are compelled now to fight not for fame and glory but for our ſaueguarde, and our libertie, which chiefly is to be eſteamed. This day ſhal either eſtabliſhe or make an ende, of the greateſt Impire that hath bene in eny age. At the riuer of Granike we fought wͭ a ſmal part of our powre. Whē we were vāquiſhed in Cilicia, Siria was able to receyue vs, & the riuers of Tigre and Euphrates were as bulwarkes

The oraciō of Darius.

to

to defend our kingdome. But now we be come to that point, ẏ we haue no place to fle to, if we be put to flight. All thynges behinde oure backes are waſted with thys long warre, neither cities be inhabited nor mẽ lefte to tylle the grounde. Both our wiues and children do folowe thys armye, a praye redye for our enemies excepte we put forth oure bodies for the defence of ſuche as be deare vnto vs. So much as hath cõcerned me I performed, preparyng ſuch an armye as this huge plaine is ſcarſlye able to receiue: I diſtributed emonges you horſe and armour prouiding that victailes ſhould not want for ſuch a multitude, and haue choſen out an apt place to araunge oure battailes in. All the reſt remaineth in your handes. Do but dare, and the victorye is yours, deſpiſe you thys fame whych is but a weake wepon agaynſt men of valure. It is raſhnes whyche hitherto ye haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the fyrſt brunt is ſpente, it waxeth then dul as theſe drones hauing once loſt their thonges. Thys playne hath diſcloſed their ſmale numbre, whyche the mountaines of Cilicia did hide: you ſe howe thinne theirranckes be, their wynges how they be extended abroad, howe their battailes be emptie and voyde of men, and ſuch as be hindermoſt haue alredye tourned theyr backes. They may be ouerthrowen with youre horſe fete, thoughe I ſende none againſt them but the hoked wagons. And if we wynne the battaile we make an end of the warre, for they haue no place to flie vnto. They be ſhut in wͭ Tigre on the one ſide, & with Euphrates on the other: and ſuch things, as before made for their purpoſe, now be turned and make cleare againſt them. Our armie is lighte, and without muche baggage, and they be laden with praies and with bouties. We ſhall kil them therfore as they be wrapt in our ſpoiles. And the ſame one thinge ſhalbe both our gayne, and the cauſe of our victorye. If eny of you be moued with the fame of the naciō, you muſt thinke that the armour with the outward ſhew, & not the bodies of the very Macedons be there preſēt, we haue cōſumed ſo much of their bloud ſince yͤ war begā. And ſeing they be but few, their loſſe muſte nedes be to them the greater. For howe greate ſo euer Alexander dothe ſeme to ſuche as be fearefull and cowardes, he is but a man, and if you truſt me, both raſhe and without conſideracion; and hetherto more fortunate through our feare, thē by his owne valure. There is nothing can cōtinue that is not gouerned by reaſō. For though fortune ſeme to fauour for a whyle, yet at length ſhe ſhal not ſupport his raſhnes. Beſides that the eſtate of thynges be ful of chaunge, and no manne hath perpetuall felicitye, it maye be that the prouidence of the goddes haue ſo ordeyned it, that the Empire of the Perſians encreaſed wyth ſuche proſperous ſucceſſe by the ſpace of two hundred and thyrtye yeares, and broughte to ſo greate an height of fortune, ſhould nowe rather be ſhaken, then vtterlye ouerthrowen: thereby to admonyſhe vs of mans fragilitie, whyche vſeth to forget himſelfe ouer much in proſperous eſtate. It is not long ago ſince of our owne mocion, and courage, we moued warre agaynſte the Grecians, and inuaded their dominions, but nowe we ſtand at defence in our owne countrey. Thus we be toſſed one againſt an other by exchaunge of fortune. For one nacion can not beare the greatnes of the Empire whyche we both do couet. But be it ſo that hope were taken from vs, yet neceſſitie ought to prick vs forwardes, the matter is come to ſuche extremitye. He keapeth nowe as

Reason is a
good governour.

No worldlie
felicitie is
perpetuall.

And the fortune
doth admonishe
a man of his
fragillitie, who
listeth to forget
himselfe in
prosperitie.

fortune is
changeable.

Occhus, sonne to Darius.

Pitifull wordes to proced from so great a kynge.

priſoners, both my mother, my two doughters, and Ochus my ſonne, borne to the ſucceſſiō of this Empire. He keapeth captiue youre princes, the iſſue that is dyſcended of the bloude royal; yea, and your capitaines equal with kynges, and if you do not nowe lay to youre handes I my ſelfe am lyke to become captiue. Deliuer you therefore my bowels out of priſonne, and reſtore to me my children, for whoſe ſake I do not refuſe to die. Be you all ſure that bothe my mother and my children (for my wyfe is dead in priſon) beholding vp theyr handes, criyng vnto the goddes and calling for youre helpe, your compaſſion and fidelitie, that you would deliuer them from ſeruitude, from fetters, and from the eſtate they are in, liuinge at other mens wil & appointment. Thinke you that they can be content to liue vnder ſuch, as they coulde ſcarſly vouchſaue to haue for ſubiectes? I ſe that our enemies battailes do approche and the neare the daunger is at hand the leſſe the wordes I haue ſpoken do ſatiſfie me. I make requeſt to you by the goddes of our countrey, by the eternall fier that is caried vpon the aulters, by the bryghtnes of the ſunne that riſeth within the boūdes of myne Empire, and by the euerlaſting memory of Cyrus, whych fyrſte did take the Empire from the Medes and Lidians & gaue it to the Perſians, to deliuer their name and this nacion, from ſhame and reproche. Go forth cherefully, haue you good hope, and ſe that you reſtore to your poſteritie, the glory you receyued of youre elders. Lo, you cary nowe in youre handes youre libertie, youre helpe, and your hope in tyme to come. Whoſoeuer contempneth death, eſcaped death and death ouertaketh ſuche, as do flie from death. I ryde here in a chariot, not only for that it is my countrey cuſtome, but alſo that I

Nota.

may

but alſo that I may be ſene of you al. And I deſire nothing ſo much as ỹ ye wil folowe me, whether I ſhewe you an enſample of prowes or of cowardnes. In the meane ſeaſon whyles Alexāder did couet to eſchue the place of peril whereof he warned, & enforced him ſelfe to encoūter with Darius left battaile, where he remained in perſon, was cōpelled to fetch a compaſſe about. Whom when Darius perceiued he turned lykewiſe his own battaile towardes him, willing Beſſus to appoint the Maſſagetes horſemen to geue a charge on Alexāders left battaile. He ſet before him his hoked wagōs, which by a ſigne geuen brake out ſodenly vpon their enemies with a full courſe, to thintent that by their cōming vnbewares they myght do the greater deſtruction. The pikes that were ſet before in the wagons deſſtroied diuers, and many were torne a ſondre by the hokes that were on both ſides. The Macedons gaue not place to them by a little & little, but troubled their arrai with a maine flight. When Mazeus ſaw their diſordre, he put them in more fear, and appointed out a thouſād horſemen to fetch a compaſſe about the Macedōs battailes to ſpoile their cariage, ſuppoſinge that the priſoners which were there kept, would breake their bandes when they ſhould ſee their owne naciō approche. Parmenio which was in the left wing perceiued thys matter wel, and therfore ſente by and by Polidamus vnto Alexander to ſhewe hym the daunger, and knowe hys pleaſure what he woulde haue done. When he vnderſtode the caſe by Polidamus: Go thy waye (qd he) and ſhewe Parmenio, if we wynne the battaile, wee ſhall not only recouer agayne our owne, but ſhal haue alſo the ſpoile of our enemies. Therefore I would not that eny parte of oure force ſhoulde bee remoued from the

The battail foughte at Arbella betwixt Alexander and Darius.

maine battaile, but let him fighte it out manfully, ⁊ not regarde the loſſe of baggage, wherin he ſhal obſerue yͤ honour of me, and my father Philippe, whoſe cuſtome was to do the like. In the meane ſeaſon the Percians were entred emõges the cariages ⁊ had ſlaine diuers that were left therein defence: wherupon the priſoners began to loſe them ſelues, and takyng vp whatſoeuer came to hand, toke part wyth the horſmen, and ſharply aſſailed the Macedõs. Diuers were ſo ioyful that they ranne to beare tidinges to Siſigambis howe Darius had wonne the victorye, and had ouerthrowen hys enemies to their great ſlaughter, and alſo that al their cariage was wonne, thinkyng the lyke fortune had bene euerye where, ſeynge they ſawe the Percians fall to ſpoyle. And althoughe they exhorted Siſigambis that ſhe ſhoulde leaue her heuines and reioyſe, yet ſhe continued in the ſame eſtate ſhe was in before, wͭout ſpeaking one worde or chaũging colour or countenaunce, but ſate ſtill immouable. She was ſo ouer come (as it was thought) wͭ ſodayne ioye, that ſhe durſt not ſturre nor attempt fortune, for ſuch as dyd behold her, coulde not perceyue, whyche waye ſhe was enclined. In the meane ſeaſon Amintas, that was maiſter of the horſe to Alexander, came with a fewe bandes of horſmen to ſuccour the cariages, but vncertaine it was whither he did it of his own head, or by the kynges appoĩtmẽt. He was not able to endure the force of the Caduſians and Scithians, for ſcarſly attempting the ſkirmiſh, he was driuẽ backe, and fled again vnto Alexãder, being rather a witnes of the loſſe of the cariage, thẽ a reſcuer of the ſame. The griefe that Alexãder cõceiued of this matter ouercame the purpoſe he toke before, ⁊ feared (not wͭout cauſe) leſt the ſouldiers throughe yͤ carefulnes to

Amyntas.

recouer their owne, might leaue ẏ fight, and reſort towarde their baggage: he ſent therfore Aretes captaine of the ſperemen ẏ were named Sariſſopherii agaynſt the Scithes. By this time the hoked wagons, whyche had ſomwhat troubled the forefront, were come within the ſquare which the Macedons call Phalanx, yet the ſouldiers neuer ſhronke at the matter, but receiued thẽ into the middes of their battaile, where as ioyning thẽ ſelues cloſe together, they ſtode lyke a wall on bothe ſides; thruſting their pikes into the bowels of ẏ horſes, and ran about the wagons, throwyng downe ſuche as ſtode in thẽ at defence. The whole battaile was entangled & troubled with the ruine & killyng of the horſes, & ſuch as gouerned them. They coulde not rule their horſes when they were once gualled and hurt, whyche with much leaping and ſtrugling not only brake out of their trace, but alſo ouerthrewe the wagons, drawyng at their tailes the men that were ſlaine, neither beinge able to ſtande ſtill for the feare they were in, nor yet go forwardes beinge ſo fainte of their woundes. Yet a fewe of them paſſed through the battaile, whereby ſuch as the wagons dyd lite vpon, were miſerablye ſlayne, lying vpon the ground with their members cut in ſondre. Yet becauſe ẏ through ẏ greneneſſe of their woũdes they felt litle paine, they kepte their weapons ſtyll, notwithſtãding they were maimed & wythout ſtrength, til ſuche tyme as bye continuall bleadynge, they ſonke downe dead. Aretes in the meane tyme had ſlayne the capitaine of the Scythians that were ſpoylyng of the cariages, and repulſed them backe. But ſtreyghtwaye came the Bactrians by Darius ſendyng, and tourned the fortune of the field againe. Many Macedõs were ſlaine at ẏ firſt encoũter, but more fled vnto Alexãder.

Aretes.

Then the Percians made ſuche a ſhowte as men are wont to do that wynne the victorye,and fierſely aſſayled their enemies,thynckynge that they had in euerye place bene put to flyghte. When Alexander perceyued his men ſhrinke,to begyn to faint,and geue ground,he rebuked ſuch as he ſawe afraied, and encouraged many that withdrew from the fight:ſo that he alone reſtored the battaile agayne. When he had put thē in hart, he required them to preſſe forwardes,and go on frelye againſt their enemies. Alexander perceiuing that the Bactrians were departed to the defeating of the cariages,and by their going had left the ryghte hande battaile of Darius thinne and naked, he bente his force wholly that way and there made a wōderful ſlaughter and deſtruction of his enemies which by reaſō of their loſe aray, were not able to wythſtand hym. The Percians in the left wyng ſeing this thinge, were in hope to haue encloſed Alexāder about,and came forwardes to ſet vpon his backe part,whereby great daunger had enſued to him being enuironed both before & behinde. If ẏ Agriās had not put their ſpurres to their horſes, and geuen a charge to their enemies, that were enuironyng the kynge aboute, and ſo compelled the Percians to tourne their faces againe towardes them. The battailes thus were ſore trauailed on both ſides. Alexander had his enemies bothe before and behynde,and his enemies that came on his back were ſore oppreſſed by the Agrians. The Bactrians alſo that had ſpoyled the cariages,were excluded from their own company, and coulde not recouer their place agayne. Thus the battayles were deuyded in diuers partes,and foughte one agaynſte another as their chaunce fell. The two kynges, that ioyned theyr battailes harde one to another,renued agayne the fyght. There were moſte of the Percians ſlayne, but the numbre of the wounded were like on bothe ſides. Darius did ride in a chariot, and Alexander vpon an horſe. They bothe had a choiſe bande about them whiche were careles of their owne lyues. For if their kynges ſhould miſcary,neither they coulde be ſafe,nor yet deſire to lyue. Wherfore euerye of theim thought it a noble thinge to aduenture theim ſelues before the face of their Prince. And he that coueted moſte to defende his maiſter, was in moſte peryll, for eche man deſiered the honour to kyll the kyng on his contrarye parte. There (whether it were an imaginacion of the eyes, or a thing done in dede) ſuche as were aboute Alexander, beleued that they ſawe an Egle flickeryng aboue his heade, whiche neither feared with claſhyng of the harneys, nor by the criyng of theim that were diyng, hong ſtyll in the ayre, a little aboue him. Then Ariſtander whiche ware a white garment,and caried lawrell in his hand,ſhewed this thing vnto yͤ ſouldiers being buſy in fightyng,as a certaine token of victory. That thing cauſed them which before were in ſome doubt, cherefully & with great cõfidence, to aſſaile their enemies. The fight cõtinued after this ſort,vntil yͤ time that he was ſlaine, whiche gouerned the horſe that drewe Darius chariot. Then neither the Percians nor Macedones doubted, but that Darius had bene ſlayne. And the Percians vpon that imaginacion made a barbarous noyſe,and a ſorowfull howlynge, wherwyth they ſore troubled and aſtonied their whole hoſte, that were yet fyghtynge wyth equall victory. Darius kinſmen and the Squires for his bodye that were on his lift hande, left him and fledde awaye with a maine flight: but ſuche as ſtode in his defence on his right hande, conueyed hym in to the harte of the battayle. It is ſaied that Darius drew out his ſworde, and was determined diuers tymes to kyll hym ſelfe, rather then to ſuſteyne the ſhame of flying away. But when he ſawe as he ſate alofte on his Chariote, that a great part of his army remayned yet fightyng, he was aſhamed to leaue them in ſuche ſorte. And whyles he thus wauered in his opiniō betwixt hope and diſpayre, the Percians by little and little gaue grounde, and ſhronke from their order. Alexāder that had tyred many horſes, did at that inſtant chaunge a new, and ſtrake at the faces of theim that made reſiſtence. There was none then that made reſiſtaunce eny lenger, but a manifeſte ſlaughter fell on the Percians. and Darius tourned his Chariot to flye awaye. The Macedons purſued harde after them that fledde, and the duſte that flew vp to the ſkie, toke away their proſpect, ſo that they wandred as it had bene in darkenes, and euer drew together when they hearde eny voyce they knewe. Onely the ratlyng and noyſe of the chariot was a token for the Macedons to folowe after. As Fortune was proſperous to the Macedons on this parte, & contrarious vnto their enemies: ſo on the other ſyde where Parmenio in the lift wing encountred with the Percians, they had the better, and the Macedons the worſſe.

Darius fles

Mazeus.

Mazeus with his whole bande gaue a greate charge, and putte the horſemen that ſtode in the wynges to a ſore diſtreſſe. And therupon by reaſon he abounded with multitude began to encloſe the fotemen aboute. Then Parmenio ſente woorde to Alexander in what daũger they were in, which he ſignified to be ſuch, that excepte they hadde ſuccoure in tyme, they coulde not reſiſte, but be enforced to flye awaye. Alexander was gone farre in the chaſe, whẽ this ſorowful meſſage was brought him. Wherfore he commaunded the horſemen to ſtaye, and chafed wonderfullye, that the victorye ſhoulde thus be taken out of his handes, and that Darius had better fortune in fleyng, then he in his folowyng. In the meane ſeaſon the fame of Darius ouerthrowe was brought vnto Mazeus. Wherfore though he had the vpper hand, yet he was ſtrikẽ with ſuch fear of his felowes miſfortune, that he made a ſlacke purſuite vpon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cauſe why the fight did ſlacke ſo willingly of their parte, but boldly vſyng the occaſion of the victorye, called the Theſſalien horſemen vnto him and ſayed: Se you not howe our enemies that euen nowe gaue vs a fierce onſet, be ſodainely afrayed, and withdrawe themſelues. I ſee the fortune of our kyng doth geue vs the victorye. All the feilde be ſtrowen with the Percians, that be ſlayne: Why do you therfore ſtaye? are you not good inoughe for men that be flying? They ſawe his wordes had an appearaunce of a truth, and therfore by and by they toke courage, and puttyng their ſpores to the horſe, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who retired not by little & little, but marched away a greate pace. And they wanted nothing of flying, ſauyng that they had not yet directly turned their backes: yet for al that, in ſo much as Parmenio knew not what was become of the king, nor of his battaile, ſtayed and woulde not purſue after them. Mazeus hauyng leaſure geuen him to flie at his libertie, paſſed the riuer of Tigre, not the next way, but by a further cõpaſſe about with more ſuretye, and recouered the citye of Babilon, with the remaynes of that vainquiſhed armye. In the meane ſeaſon Darius wyth a fewe that accompanied him in

Parmenio encouraged his ſoldiers

his flyyng came to the riuer of Licus, where paſſyng ouer he ſtode in doubte whether he ſhoulde breake the bridge or no, for it was ſhewed him that his enemies were at hande. But cōſideryng how many thouſandes of his men by the breakyng therof ſhould be a praye to his enemies, he left the bridge ſtandyng, and at his departure, ſaide: that he had rather open the way to them that purſued him, then to ſhut it againſt them that fled after him. But Darius left not his flyyng till he came to Arbella, where he arriued about midnight. Who is able to conceiue in his minde, or expreſſe in wordes, the manifold chaūces in this diſcōfiture, the ſlaughter that fell both vpon captaynes and ſouldiers, the chaſing of them that were put to flight, & the deſtruction in particular, and in generall. Fortune heaped together that one daye the chaunces of a whole worlde. Some toke the way that came next to hand, another ſort fled vnto the woodes, & ſought out by pathes to eſcape ſuche as had them in the chaſe. There was a confuſion of horſmen and fotemen mixed together without eny heade, the armed with the vnarmed, and the whole with the hurte. At length the cōpaſſion that one had of an other, was turned into feare, and they that coulde not folow, were left bewailing thē ſelfes one to another. But thirſt chiefely afflicted the wounded and weried, which laye along euery where in the waies where eny water was, gaſpyng after it with open mouth. And when for gredines they hadde gulled in the troubled water, they began to ſwell, when the mudde once entered into their entrayles. And beyng thus not in caſe to moue, the enemye came and ſturred them vp wyth new woūdes. Some when the brokes neare hand were taken vp by other: ſought out for ſpringes in euerye ſecrete place.

The diſcomfiture.

Godes punishmente be ſharpe, and his Iudgmente ſtricte.

Nor there was no puddle ſo drye nor ſo farre out of the waye, that could be hidden from the thirſt of them that ſearched theim oute. The olde men and women were heard howlyng and criyng in all the villages neare the waye ſyde, howe Darius was yet their Kynge. Alexander (as it hath bene ſaide before) purſuyng the chaſe was come to the river of Licus, where as ẏ multitude of the flyers was greater then coulde paſſe the bridge. So that manye when their enemies purſued theim, lepte into the water, and there laden wyth their armoure, and weried wyth fyghtynge and flyinge, were conſumed wyth the ſtreame. But wythin a whyle neyther the bridge, nor the River, were able to receyue the thronge that continually encreaſed by their vndiſcrete flyinge. For when feare was once entered into their hartes, they doubted onely that whiche put them firſte in feare. The Macedōs were eger in the purſute of their enemies, & required Alexander that he would not ſuffer their enemies to eſcape fre away. But he to ſtay thē, alledged that their weapons were dulled, their hādes weried, their bodies faint with long purſute, & the night beſides faſt approchyng on. But in very dede the care of his other battayle, whyche he thought to be yet fightyng, cauſed him to retourne to their ſuccour. He had not ſo ſone turned his enſignes, but that certayne horſemen brought him worde from Parmenio, that he likewiſe had put his enemies to flyght. He was not in ſo great a daunger all that daye, as when he was commyng towarde his campe. For there were but few that folowed him, and they were oute of order, as men that reioyſyng of the victory, iudged al their enemies either to be fledde or ſlaine in the feilde. Sodainely there appeared a bande of Percian horſemen cōmyng againſt them,

Extreme miſerie

The dāger Alexander was in at his returne from the chaſe.

them, which at the firſt ſtayed, but afterwardes perceyuyng the ſmall nūbre of the Macedons, gaue a charge vpon thē. The king rode formoſte, rather diſſimulyng then deſpiſyng the peryll he was in: but his perpetuall felicity neuer fayled him in extremities. For at the firſt encountre he ſtrake the capitaine of the Percians, who in egernes of the fight vnaduiſedly came againſt him, throughe with a ſpeare. When he with that blowe was ſtriken to the grounde, Alexander ſlewe the next vnto him with the ſame ſtaffe, and after diuers other. When his company ſawe their enemies amaſed with his doynges, they brake vpon them, and threwe many to the earth, yet they for their partes were not vnreuenged: for the whole battaile did not ſo earneſtly fight as that ſmall bande aſſembled ſo by chaunce. But at length when they ſawe flying in the darcke to be more ſuretye to them then fightyng, they ſhorked away in diuers cōpanies. Alexander hauyng eſcaped this extraordinary perill, brought his men in ſaufegarde vnto his camp. There were ſlayne of the Percians, which came to the knowledge of them that had the victorie, xl. M. and of the Macedons leſſe then. ccc. whiche victorie Alexander wanne more by his owne vertue, then by eny fortune: and with hardines & courage, more then through eny aduauntage of the grounde. For he both ordred his battailes politikely, and fought manfully. With great wiſedome he contemned the loſſe of the baggage, conſidering the weight of the whole matter to cōſiſt in the battaile it ſelfe. Whiles the fortune of the fielde was yet doubtfull, he vſed him ſelfe as aſſured of the victorye. And when he had put his enemies in feare, he ceaſed not til he had ſet them flyinge, and that whiche ſcarſely can be beleued, in that fierſenes of courage, he pur-

He that was [illegible] euer wth the felicitie, now thinketh upon miserye.

Shoked,

The nūber of the dead.

Off the persians 40000, were slaine.

And off the macedons 300. whiche seemeth att incredible that so greate a victorie should be wonne wth so little losse.

purſued in the chaſe more wiſely then gredelye. For if he ſhoulde haue folowed on ſtyll parte of his power yet fightynge in the fielde, he ſhoulde either haue loſte the battaile through his owne fault, or els haue wonne the victorye through the prowes of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victorie, he hadde ſhewed him ſelfe afrayed of the horſemen that he mette, he muſte either haue ſhamfully fledde, or haue bene miſerablie ſlaine. Nor his capitaynes were not to be defrauded of their commendation: for the woundes that they did receyue, were tokens of their manhode. Epheſtions arme was wounded wyth a ſpeare, Perdicas, Cenos, and Menidas wyth ſhotte of arrowes weare nere ſlayne. And if we will geue a true iudgement of the Macedons, that were there, we muſt confeſſe that he was a kyng worthy ſuch miniſters, and they men worthy of ſuche a maiſter.

Men worthie
of ſuche a md.

⁂

The fifte boke of
Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, Kyng of
Macedon.

(.˙.)

If I ſhall make mencion of the matters that chaūſed in the meane ſeaſon both in Greace, Illyria, and Thracia, by the appoyntment and commiſſion of Alexander, in ordre as thei fell: the matters of Aſia ſhold therby be interrupted, which I thought moſt cōuenient to put wholly together, vntil the death of Darius, and then to ioyne theim in thys worke, as they agree with the tyme. I wyll firſte ſpeake of thoſe thinges that enſued after the battayle at Arbella, where Darius arriued about midnyght. And as it chaunſed, the more parte of his frendes, and of all other that were eſcaped from the feilde, were come thether. He called them all together, and ſpake to them in this effecte: That he doubted not but Alexander and his men, gapyng with gredy deſire for the aboūdaunce of ſpoyle that was in readines for them, woulde viſite ſuch cities & countries of his, as were moſte notable & plentifull of riches: which thing (he ſaied) conſideryng his eſtate, coulde not but turne at length to his auaile. His purpoſe was (he ſaied) with a ſmall band, to repaire into the deſertes. And ſeyng the vttermoſte boundes of his kingdome were yet vntouched, he might from thence eaſilye repaire his power againe to renue the warre. Let therfore that gready nation (qd he) take my treaſure, & ſatiſfie their great honger with gold, whiche ſhortly ſhall cauſe both the ſame and them alſo to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he ſaid) by experiēce

Interrupted.

Darius wordes to them that were fled from the feilde.

that the aboundance of riches, & exceſſe of thinges, ẏ their flockes of cōcubines and Enukes, were nothing els but burdens and impedimentes: whyche Alexander poſſeſſing and cariyng about, ſhould make him inferior vnto thē of whom before he was victorious. His oracion ſeamed to al men to be ful of deſperacion. For they ſawe thereby that the rich citie of Babilon ſhould be geuen vp vnto the Macedons, and Suſa ſhortlye after with al other ornamētes of the realme that were cauſe of the war. But he proceaded in perſuading thē, how that men in aduerſitie ought not do thinges that ſhould ſeame goodly in the ſpeakinge, but neceſſary in the experience. That warres were made wyth iron, & not with gold, with men, and not wyth the walles of cities, for al thynges folowe them that be armed and in ſtrength. He ſhewed that hys auncetours were afflicted after this maner in the beginning, and yet recouered againe quickly theyr former eſtate. After he hadde ſpoken theſe wordes, either for that they were thereby encouraged, or els that they rather obeied his auctoritie then liked his counſel, folowed him into the boūdes of Media. Shortly after Arbella was geuen vp vnto Alexander, whyche was full of riches and treaſure, of precious ſtuffe, and princely apparaile, and beſides the ſubſtaunce of the whole armye was lefte there. The ſycknes that began in Alexanders campe, riſinge of ẏ ſauour of the deade bodies ſcatered ouer al the fieldes, was the cauſe that he did the ſoner remoue. The playne countrey of Arabia verye notable wyth the aboundaūce of ſweate odowrs there growyng, lay vpon the ryght hād as they marched. And ſo paſſed through the countrey lyinge betwene Tigre and Euphrates, which is ſo fat & plentifull a ground, that ẏ inhabiters

Arbella yeldid vnto Alexander.

Arabye.

Tygre.

The countreys that lye betwene Tygris & Euphrates, are plentifull and fertill, so that the people of that countrey do dryue theyr cattell from feding lest they should kill them selues, wth to muche eating.

Euphrates.

Meſopotania.

Mennium

Gratefull.

Mazeus. gouernor of Babilon.

be fayne to dryue their beaſtes from feadinge, leaſte they ſhoulde kyll theym ſelues by eatyng ouer much. The cauſe of thys fertilitie commeth of the moyſter that iſſueth from boothe riuers, diſtillynge by vaynes throughe the grounde. Both theſe ryuers haue their begynnynge in the mounteynes of Armenye, where they be diſtaunt .v. thouſande .v. C. furlonges, and ſo runne forwardes keapinge their diſtance, til they come neare the boundes of Media & Gordia. For the by litle and little the further they go, they draw more neare together, leauyng leſſe ſpace betwixte them. They encloſe on both ſides the countrey ỹ is called Meſopotania, from whence they runne throughe the boundes of Babilō into the read ſea. After Alexāder had chaūged his campe fourtimes, he came to a citie called Mennium, where as there is a fountayne wythin a caue, that boyleth out great plenty of pitche: ſo it appeareth that the Babilonians had their ſemēt from thence, whiche they emploied about the making of their huge walles. As Alexāder was going frō thence towardes Babilō: Mazeus whiche was ſayd before to haue fled from the battaile, came to mete hym in mooſte humble maner, where as cōmitting his childrē into his hādes, yelded him ſelfe and rendred vp the citye. His comming was very gratefull vnto the kinge, conſiderynge what trauaile he ſhould haue ſuſteined in the ſiege of ſo ſtrong a Citie: if it had bene kepte againſte hym. And beſides forſomuch as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiaūt, & much noted for his doing in the laſt battaile, thought his enſample ſhould much prouoke others to do the like. For that cauſe he receyued bothe hym and hys chyldren wyth gentil maner, and yet gaue ordre to hys men, that they ſhoulde enter into the citie in ſuche araye of battaile as if they ſhould fight. A great numbre of ẏ Babilonians ſtode vpon the walles, deſirous to behold hym that was their newe kyng. But the more parte went fourth to mete hym. Bagiſtenes that was captayne of the caſtle, and keper of ẏ kynges treaſour, becauſe he would ſhewe hym ſelfe to be no leſſe affectionate towardes Alexander than Mazeus was, ſtrowed al the wayes where he ſhould paſſe, with flowers and garlandes, and ſet aulters of ſiluer on both ſydes wyth frankenſence burninge vpon the ſame, and al other kinde of ſwete odours. Next vnto hym came flockes of beaſtes, greate numbres of horſes wyth Lions, and Pardalles caried in cages, whyche he broughte to geue as preſentes vnto Alexãder. And after them the Magies ſinging accordyng to theyr countrey maner. The Caldies went nexte with their deuiners and prophetes, and then the muſicians wyth their kyndes of inſtrumentes: whoſe propertie was to ſinge the praiſes of kinges, and the Caldeis vſed to declare the motiõs of the planetes, wyth the courſe and reuolucion of the time. Laſt in order came the Babiloniã horſmẽ, whoſe ſumptuous furniture, bothe for them ſelues and theyr horſes, tended more to voluptuous and delicacye, then to eny magnificence. Alexander that was encloſed about wyth armed men wylled that the Babilonians ſhould come behind his footemen, and he riding alofte in his chariot entred into the citye, and afterwardes into the palaice, where the next daye he ſurueied Darius treaſure and ryches. The beutye and pleaſauntenes of that citie, gaue iuſte occaſion to Alexander and ſuch as were with him to wonder much vpon it. Semiramis was the builder therof, and according to ſome mens opinion Belus, whoſe palaice is to be ſene ther,

Bagiſtenes

The diſtripcion of Babilon.

Surveyed

Semiramis. Belus

The walles be made al of brick ſet with a kind of pitch, called Betumen. And they be .xxxii. fote in breadthe, ſo that two cartes may eaſely go vpō thē afront. They be in height .C. cubites, & the towers be .x. fote higher thē the reſt of the walles. The compaſſe of them about is .CCClxviii. furlonges, beinge builded (as it is lefte in memory) in ſo many daies. The houſes ſtand ẏ breadth of an acre diſtaūt from the walles, not builded through out the citie, but only by the ſpace of .iiii. ſcore & .x. furlonges, & thoſe not ioyned neare one to another, but for ſome conſideracion deuided a ſonder. The reſte of the ground is ſowed and tilled, to thintēt that if eny forein powre come againſt them, they ſhould be able to be releaued by the fruite therof cōminge. The riuer of Euphrates doth runne through the myddes of the citie, & is kepte in on bothe ſides with walles of a wounderful workmāſhyp. But the great caues made of brick, and ſet with pitche in ſteade of morter wrought low within the ground to receiue the violēce of the ſtreame, do excede al the reſt of ẏ workes there made: for excepte the ſame were of quantitie and largenes to receyue ẏ water whē the ſtreame floweth ouer ẏ bankes ẏ be made to kepe it in, the violence thereof ſhoulde beare downe the houſes of the citie. There is alſo ouer that riuer a ſtone brydge, which ioyneth both partes of the citie togethers: counted emonges the marueilous workes of the Orient. For by reaſon that Euphrates is ſo full of mudde and owſe, grounde can ſcarſely there be found to lay the foundacion vpon, & the ſtreame beſydes caſteth vp ſuch heapes of ſande agaynſte the brydge, that it is an impedimment for the water frely to paſſe, & therfore beareth vpon the bridge with greater force, then if it had his fre recourſe. There is alſo a caſtle that is .xx. fur-

Throwe Babilon
runnethe the rive
of Euphrates, &
on that river is
made a stone &
brige, which joy=
nethe bothe &
partes of the
cittie togethers

Th. Caſtel of Babilon.

belonges about the towres, whereof be .xxx. fote depe within the ground, and .iiii.ſcore fote in heighte aboue the ground. Where alſo the wonders are to be ſene, ſo often mencioned in the Greake poeſies. For in ẏ ſame be whole groues of trees ſet by wōderful arte aboue the ground, ſo highe as the toppes of the towres, which be marueilous bewtiful and pleaſaunt throughe their height and ſhadow that they make. The whole weight of them is ſuſteined and borne by huge pillers made of ſtone, vpon whiche there is a floore of ſquare ſtone, that bothe vpholde the earth that lieth deape vpon the pillers, and alſo the humour wherewyth it is watered. The trees ẏ growe therupō be of eight cubites aboute, and as fruteful as if they grew in naturall earth. And althoughe proceſſe of tyme is wont by little, & little, not only to deſtroie thinges made with hande, but alſo the very workes of nature: yet this worcke, for al it is oppreſſed with the rootes of ſo many trees, and burdened with the weight of ſo much earth, & of ſo great a wood. Yet remaineth vnperiſhed in eny point, being ſuſteined vp with .xx. broade walles diſtāt .xi. foote one from another. Whē theſe trees be ſene a farre of, thei ſeame to be a wode growing vpon a mountaine. It is ſayd ẏ a king of Siria reigning in Babilō, builded this worke for his wiues fāſie, who for the loue ſhe had to woodes and ſhadowie places, moued her huſbād in doing therof to coūterfeit the pleſaūtnes of nature. Alexāder taried lenger there then in eny other citie, which hurted more the diſcipline of the Macedons in their warres, thē eny other place. For nothing was more corrupt thē ẏ maners & cuſtomes of that citie, nor eny other was more aboundantly furniſhed of al thynges, wherwith mē be allured and ſturred to exceſſiue pleaſures. The

Wher people
do most abound
in welthe, ther
is most corrup=
tion of manrs.

The cuſtomes of the Babilonians.

parentes

The babilonians greatlie geven to dronkennesse.

An unshamefast behavioure of women.

I woulde this custome were but in babilon onlie.

Amyntas came to Alexander with a new ſupplie of men.

parentes and huſbandes were contented for gayne, ỹ their children and wiues ſhould haue company wͭ ſuch ſtraungers as came emonges them. The kinges and nobilitie of Perce, delite much in banqueting paſtime, but the Babilonians be ſpeciallye geuen thereunto, to wyne, and to dronkēnes, where the women vſe ſuch a cuſtome that in the beginning of the feaſt their apparaile ſemeth womãly and demure, but afterwardes by little and little thei put of their vppermoſt garmentes, and laiynge a ſide all ſhamefaſtnes, do diſcouer theym ſelues naked. Whych vile cuſtome is not vſed by harlottes only, but by them al in general, which counte the making of their bodies commen, but a ciuilitie & good maner. In this voluptuouſnes and abhominaciõ, the conquerour of Aſia walowed by the ſpace of .xxxiiii. dayes, whereby he became muche the weaker to haue done other enterpriſes, if he had had an enemie to ſtãd againſt him. But to thintent the harme he toke ſhould the be leſſe perceyued, he encreaſed hys power wyth a newe ſupplie of men. For Amintas the ſonne of Andromenes brought him from Antipater ſyxe thouſand Macedon fotemen, & .v.C. horſmen, & with them .v.C Tracian horſemen, with .iii.M.v.C. footemen of the ſame nacion. He had alſo put of Peloponeſe .iiii.M. fotemen, & .iiii.C.iiii. ſcore horſmẽ being Mercenary ſouldiers. Amintas alſo brought with him .L. younge men of the nobilitye of Macedonia to attende vpõ Alexanders perſon: whoſe office was to ſerue the kyng at meate, & to bring him his horſe when he went to battaile. They accuſtomed to be about hym when he hunted, and kept the watche by courſe at his chambre dore. Theſe were they which afterwardes proued great capitaines, and that was the race out of the which the rulers of their mē of warre dyd come. Alexander appoynted Agathō capitaine of the caſtle of Babilon, w. vii. C. Macedons, and. iii. C. Mercenary ſouldiers, and lefte Minetas and Appollidorus gouernours of the citye & the countrey, to whom he aſſigned two. M. footemen and a. M. talentes, geuing thē in commiſſion to wage more ſouldiers. He made Mazeus that gaue the citye into hys handes, lieutenaunt of the whole, and cauſed Bagiſtenes that yelded vp the Caſtle to folowe him in his warres. Armenia was geuen to Methrenes that betraied the citie of Sardos, & to encourage hys ſouldiers to the enterpriſing of other thynges, gaue out of the treaſure of Babilon to euery Macedon horſman. v. C. deneres, to euery horſeman of the ſtraungers. v. C. and to euerye foteman two. C. When he had ſet order in al theſe thinges, he came into the coūtrey called Atrapene which being plentiful of all thynges and aboundaunt of vitaile, cauſed the kyng to tary the lenger ther. And leſt idelnes ſhould be eny abatement of his mennes courages, deuiſed to ſtur vp their ſpirites and kepe them occupied, by appoincting iudges to trie out ſuch as had ſhewed them ſelues moſte valiaunt in the warres, to whom he aſſigned rewardes due to their deſeruynges. There were eyght found out, whoſe doynges appeared aboue the reſt, and the charge of a. M mē was committed to euery one of thē: & were called Chiliarchi. That was the fyrſt tyme they put a. M. in a band, for before that tyme they were deuided into: v. C. whyche was not counted eny greate preferment or rewarde of ſeruyce. The numbre of them were greate that came to pleade their ryghte in thys behaulfe, whiche before the iudges that gaue ſentence, broughte in teſtimonye of their doinges: whereby it coulde not be

Agathō.

Mynetas Appollydorus.

Armenia.

The countrey of Atrapene.

Idlenes dothe abate corrage.

vnknowen which of them had deſerued iuſtly ſuch honour or not. The firſt place was adiudged to old Adarchias, for his valiaũtnes vſed in the battaile at Alicarnaſſon, where he chiefly did reſtore agayne the fyghte, when the young ſouldiers had geuen it ouer. The ſecond place of honour was geuen Antigonus, & Philotas, Angeus obteined the thyrd, the fourth was adiudged to Amintas, the fifte to Antigonus. Amintas the ſonne of Linceſtes obtained the ſixte. Theodorus the ſeuenth, and Hellanicus the laſte. Hereupon to greate purpoſe he altered manye thynges that were vſed by his predeceſſours in the diſcipline of warre. For where as before the horſemē of euery coũtrey were in ſeueral bandes by them ſelues, he without reſpect of any nacion appointed thē ſuch capitaines as he thought expedient. And where as at the remouing of the cāpe warninge was accuſtomed to be geuen by a trompet, the ſounde whereof in any noyſe or tumulte coulde not be ſufficientlye hearde: he cauſed an highe pole to be alwaies ſet vp before his pauilion, whereupon remained a ſigne apparaũt to al men. The toke yͭ they obſerued was fire in the nyght, & ſmoke in the daye tyme. As he was marching towardes Suſa, Abulites yͭ was ruler of yͤ region, either by Darius cōmaũdement, thinking by meanes of the ſpoile to deteine Alexāder the lenger there, or els of his owne frewil, ſente his ſonne to mete him, profering the deliuery of the citie. The yõge mā was entreated very gently, & by his cōduction Alexāder paſſed forwardes, till he came to the riuer of Hydaſpis, which is counted to be a verye delicate water. Abulites there mette Alexāder with princely and riche giftes, and preſented hym amonges the reſte of other thinges, Dromedarye camels that were wonderfull

Abulites.

Hydaſpis.

ſwift,

Suſa,wyth.xii. Elephantes ẏ Darius had ſent for out of India,to be a terrour to the Macedons,which now were become an encreaſe of their ſtrẽgth. Whẽ the riches of the vainquiſhed, was come into the victorers handes: He founde in that citie an incredible treaſure l.M.talẽtes of Maſſy ſiluer vncoyned: which riches gathered togither in the ſpace of many yeres by diuers kings for their ſucceſſion and poſteritie, thus in a moment came into the hãdes of a forayne prince. Alexander beyng lodged within the palaice, did ſit downe in Darius ſeate: which beyng higher then ſerued for his ſtature,by reaſon his fete could not reach to the groũd, one of the kings pages put a borde vnderneth for him to treade vpõ. At the doing wherof,one of the Enukes that belonged to Darius loked heauilye, and fetched a great ſighe, whoſe ſadnes when Alexander perceiued, he enquired of him the cauſe. He aunſwered,that whẽ he behelde the borde wherupon Darius was wonte to eate employed to ſo baſe an vſe, he coulde not beholde it wythout great griefe. Alexander beyng therfore aſhamed, ſo muche to miſuſe the thynge that before was hadde in ſuche reuerence, cauſed the ſame to be taken awaye. But Philotas made requeſte he ſhoulde not ſo do, but rather take it as a diuinaciõ of his good lucke and fortune,that the table wherupon his enemye did eate,ſhould now become ſubiect vnder his fete.

Many wynne thinges for them selves, & wherof other men take the profit.

Suſa wher Alexander found incredible treaſure.

God transposeth kingdoms & treasure from one to an other, even in a moment.

Greate mutabilitie that that bord wch served one kinge to fede on, was thought base & unworthy for an other kinge to tread on.

Alexander purpoſyng from thẽce to paſſe into Perce, committed the citie of Suſa to Archilaus with.iii.M men of warre, & to Zenophilus the charge of the caſtle, leauing ſuch Macedõs as were aged there in guariſõ. But he did betake the keping of the treaſure vnto Callicrates, & reſtored to Abulites the gouernemente and principalitie of the cõtrey of Suſa, leuyng within the

Archilaus.

Zenophilus.

Callicrates.

citie

citye Darius mother & his children. And foraſmuch as Alexander had at the ſame time plenty of cloth of purple ſent him out of his countrey, with garmentes ready made after the Macedons maner: for the honoure he bare to Syſigambis (whom he had in reuerence as if ſhe had bene his mother) thought good to preſente part of thoſe to her, with the perſons that vſed to make them: and willed it ſhould tolde her if ſhe liked thē, that ſhe ſhould accuſtome her neces to make the like, & geue them for preſentes. At the declaring of which meſſage the teares rāne out of hir eyes, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her, for the Perſian womē take nothyng in more deſpite, then to put their handes to wolle. When reporte was made to Alexander in what ſort ſhe had receiued his preſent, thought both the matter mete to be excuſed, and her to be comforted. Therfore he came to viſite her, & ſayd: This garment which I weare, was both of the gifte & makyng of my ſiſters, our cuſtomes brought me into errour. Therfore I require you, that ye wil not take mine ignoraunce in euil parte. I truſt that otherwiſe I haue obſerued ſufficiently al thinges whiche I knewe to be your cuſtomes. When I vnderſtode that it was not lawfull emonges you, for the ſonne to ſit in the mothers preſence, except ſhe doth geue him leaue, whēſoeuer I came vnto your preſence, I would neuer ſitte til you willed me ſo to do. You would oftētimes haue fallen downe & worſhip me, but I wold not ſuffer you but haue euer honored you, & geuen you the name due to my ſwete mother Olimpiades. Whē the king with theſe wordes had wel pacified her, he departed, and by foure encampynges came vnto a Riuer that the countreymen call Paſatygras: which ſpringing in the moūteines of the Vxions, runneth

Alexanders excuſe to Siſigambis of the preſente he ſent her.

Paſatigras.

neth ſtepe downe emonges the rocke with woody bankes by the ſpace of .50. furlõges: but then deſcendynge into a playne, it becommeth nauigable, and ſo runneth with a more quiet ſtreame, & in a ſofter grounde by the ſpace of .vi.c. furlonges, till ſuch time as it doth enter into the Percian ſea. Alexander paſſyng this riuer wͭ nyne thouſand fotemen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the Mercinary Greakes, & with .iiii. thouſand Thracians, came emonges the Vxions: whoſe cou̅trey is neare vnto Suſis, & ſtretcheth out into Percia, leauyng betwixt it and Suſis a narow ſtreight. Madates had the rule of that countrey, who was ſuch a man as was rare at that time, for he determined to abide the extremitie for his duties ſake. Such as knew the cou̅trey, did enfourme Alexander yͭ there was a priuy way through the hilles, wherby men myght gette to the furthermoſt ſide of the chiefe citye of that countrey: & if he would ſend a fewe that were light armed, they might be brought to a place wher they ſhould appere aboue their enemies heades. This counſaile liked him ſo well, that he made the counſailers guides, and committed them to Tauron, who̅ he appointed chiefe of that enterpriſe. He aſſigned to him a thouſa̅d.v.c. Mercenarie ſouldiers, & a thouſand Agria̅s, with whom after the ſunne was gone downe, he entred into his iourney. Alexander in the third watche remoued his campe, and by the ſpring of the daye had paſſed the ſtreightes. There he ſet his men in hand to cut downe timbre for yͤ making of towers and all other ſuche thinges as perteyned to the aſſault of a citye, and ſo began his ſiege. It was a difficulte matter to make the approche, the citye ſtode ſo high and the rockes gaue ſuch impediment, whereby yͤ ſouldiers were repulſed, & receiued many hurtes,

The vxions

Madates.

A rare thinge to
fynde so true a
subiect, when the
fortune frowneth
vpon the prince, as
she did vpon darius
beinge twyse put
to flight.

Tauron.

contending both wyth thenemies and the ſcytuacion of the place. Notwythſtanding they gaue it not ouer, by reaſon the kinge was euer emongeſt the formoſt, aſkynge of them if they were not aſhamed beyng the conquerours of ſo many cyties, to be ſo longe in the winning of a ſmall caſtle, that was ſo obſcure and vnknowen in the world. As he was trauelyng emongeſt the reſt they did ſhote and caſte ſtones at him from the walles, whome the ſouldiers defended wyth their tergettes, becauſe they could not remoue hym awaye. At length Tauron appeared aboue the caſtle of the cytie: at whoſe ſight the enemies hartes fainted, and yͤ Macedons the more fierſlye did aſſayle them. When they ſaw them ſelfes in this extreamitie, and perceiued their powre not able to wythſtande the Macedons, they became of diuers diſpoſitiōs. For ſome were determyned to dye, and many to flye awaye. But the greater parte retired them ſelues into the caſtle, from whence they ſent vnto Alexander .xxx. Embaſſadours to aſke mercy. But he gaue vnto them a ſorowfull aunſwere that there was no pardō to be obteined at his handes. Wherupō they beyng in doubt of death and excluded frō al other remedies, ſent vnto Siſigambis by a preuie way vnknowne to their enemies, making their requeſte yͭ ſhe would vouchſaufe to be a meane to Alexāder for the pacefiyng of his rigour & wrath towardes thē. In her onely thei put their hope, knowing howe much Alexāder loued her, and that he eſtemed hir as if ſhe had ben his mother. And thei thought ſhe would yͤ rather enclyne to their deſire, becauſe Madates yͭ was captaine there had maried hir ſiſters daughter, wherby he became a kin to Darius. Siſigambis ſtode long in deniall of their requeſte, ſhewing, that it agreed not

wyth

obscure.

Alexander did shewe crueltie, to suche as withstode him, & as greate clemencye to suche as [illegible] to hym voluntarilye.

with her fortune to become an interceſſour for others, ſaying therunto, that ſhe feared leſt ſhe might miſuſe the victorers fauoure, & make him wery of her, for (ſhe ſaid) that ſhe had more remẽbraunce that ſhe was priſoner, thẽ that ſhe was a quene. But at length ſhe was ouercome with their ſuite, and by her letters made interceſſion vnto Alexander after ſuche a ſorte, that ſhe firſt excuſed her ſelfe of her ſuite making, and after required him that he woulde pardon them, or at the leaſt wayes that he would forgeue her being peticioner but for the life only of ſuch one, as was her frende and her kinſman, & now no lenger eny enemy to his maieſtie, but in readines to ſubmit him ſelf. This one matter is ſufficient to declare the moderatiõ and clemency that was then in Alexander: for he did not onelye pardon Madates, but alſo left the citye vntouched, graunting to all that were within it bothe libertie & fredome, with enioyment of their landes and goodes, without paiyng of any tribute: more then the which ſhe could not haue obteined of Darius beyng her ſonne. When he hadde thus ſubdued the Vxions, he annexed them to the prouince of Suſa, & purpoſyng to paſſe forwardes, deuided his army into two partes, wherof he cõmitted the one to Parmenio to be cõducted by the plaine coũtrey, and reſeruyng ſuche a parte as was peſtered leaſt with baggage, toke the way of the mounteynes, which wyth a continual ridge, runneth out in length from thence into Perce. In his paſſage he deſtroyed al the moũtaine countrey, arriuyng the .iii. day in the boũdes of Percia. The fifte daye he entred into the ſtreightes of Pylae, Suſidae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with xxv.M. fotemẽ who keping the toppes of the high and ſteep rockes, that hong ouer on both ſides the waye, at the

Interceſſor.

Peticioner

Liberalitie did abounde in Alexander.

Ariobarzanes kept the ſtreighte betwixte Suſis & Percia the firſt kepte them ſelues quiet of purpoſe, pretẽdyng a feare, vntill ſuche tyme as the army was entred into the narroweſt of the ſtreight. But when they ſawe the Macedons paſſe on forwardes in their contempt, thẽ they threwe downe great ſtones vpon them: which fallyng vpon the nethermoſt rockes, and there breakyng in pieces, rebounded emong the Macedons, falling wͭ ſuch violẽce that they diſtreſſed whole bandes at once. And beſides they did thẽ great domage with ſhot of arrowes, and ſtones that they did caſte out of ſlynges. Such as were men of courage were not ſo much greued with the death, and deſtruction that thei ſaw there preſently as yͭ they ſhould be ſlaine after ſuch a maner like beaſts caught in a pitte, where as they could not be reuenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath hereupon was tourned into ſuche a rage and woodnes, that they ran vp againſt the rockes, & there enforced them ſelues by taking holde, and by heauyng vp one of another, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they hadde caught hold vpon ſome outward parte, and therby labored to aſcend, by force of ſo many handes that faſtened to it at once, they pulled a ſunder the thinge they helde by, and ſo fell downe all togethers. In this caſe thei could neither remaine, paſſe forwardes, nor yet defend thẽ ſelues by eny deuiſe they could make wͭ their targets, ſeyng the ſtones were of ſuche weight yͭ were throwen downe vpon thẽ. Alexãder was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the griefe he receaued by the deſtruction of his men, but muche more for the ſhame that he had ſo raſhelye brought his armye into ſuche a daũgerous ſtreight. He had bene inuincible before that daye, and neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had paſſed the ſtreightes of Cilicia without domage, and opened to him ſelfe a newe waye by ſea into Pamphilia.

Whiche felicitie of his ſemed then to be at a ſtaye, and plucked backe, for he could perceiue no other remedye, then to retourne by the waye he came. He cauſed the retreite therfore to be blowen, and gaue order to hys ſouldiours to go cloſe together, and by caſtynge their targets ouer their heades, returne backe againe, after they had marched. xxx. furlonges within the ſtreight. When he was returned and had planted his campe in an open grounde, conſultynge what was beſte to dooe: ſuche a ſuperſticion entered into his mynde, that he called for the prieſtes and deuiners to helpe the matter by their inuocation. But Ariſtander to whom he gaue moſte confidence, coulde do nothing in that caſe. Alexander therfore cōdemnyng their ſacrifices which he thought then done oute of tyme, called for ſuche as knew the cōtrey. They ſhewed him of an other waye that was plaine & open inough, but yet he liked it not, he was ſo aſhamed to leaue his ſouldiers vnburied ỹ were ſlaine. For emonges all other ceremonies obſerued in the diſcipline of their warres, there was none more religiouſly kept, then the buriyng of the dead. He cauſed therfore ſuche priſoners as were latelye taken to be called before him, emonges whom there was one experte both of the Greake and Percian tongue, which ſhewed to the king ỹ he labored in vaine, if he thought to cōuey his army ouer the toppes of thoſe mōuteines, whiche (he ſaied) began at mounte Cauſaſus, and cloſed in the one ſide of Perce, by the ſpace of. M.vi.C. furlonges in length, and. clx. in breadth, till ſuche tyme as they come vnto the ſea, which alſo encloſed the cōtrey from the place where the mōtaines ceaſed. The countrey lying at the foote of the mountaynes, he deſcribed to be playne, fruitefull, and replenyſhed wyth many fayre cityes and villages, and that the Ryuer of

The heathen d buried their dead wth great reuerence.

The deſcription of the ſtreyte & the cōtrey ther unto adioynyng.

Araxes rūnyng through the ſame, falleth into another riuer called Medus, bryngyng wyth it the waters of many ſmall ſtreames. Whiche riuer of Medus beyng muche leſſe then the ſame whiche it doth receyue, runneth from thence towarde the Southe ſea. No place coulde be more aboundaunt of graſſe, for euery where neare vnto the water, the grounde was couered ouer wyth floures. The Riuer was ſhadowed ouer wyth Plantyne and Pople trees, which by reaſon they ſtand ſomewhat highe, and the water runne lowe in a deape chanell: ſeme to ſuche as be a farre, to be woodes adioynyng to the mountaynes. He counted no countrey in all Aſia to be more holeſome, or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both by reaſon of ſhadowye mounteyne that euermore defendeth the heate, & alſo of the ſea, which on that part beyng at hand, with a certayne temperature doth nouriſh the ground. Whē the priſoner had made a deſcriptiō of the coūtrey after this maner, the king enquired of him whether he knewe thoſe thynges by reporte, or elles hadde ſene them wyth his eyes. He ſaied that he had bene an heardman, & knewe the countrey very well, and all the paſſages. And that he had bene twiſe taken priſoner, once by the Percians in Licia, and now the ſecond time by him. Upon thoſe wordes Alexander called an oracle to memorye, whereby it was ſignified to him that a Lician ſhoulde be hys guide into Perce. Wherfore promiſyng to hym ſuche rewardes as the preſente neceſſitye required, & as his eſtate was mete to receyue, willed him to be armed after the Macedons maner, & to be their guide to ſhewe them the waye. Whiche thoughe he had declared to be but ſtreight and difficult, yet Alexāder put no doubt to paſſe it with a ſmall nūbre: thinkyng it an eaſy mat-

ter

Description

Nota.

and perpetuall commendacion yͭ the herdman whiche had paſſed it often tymes in feading of his beaſtes. Then the priſoner left not to alledge the difficulties of the waye, ſpecially for ſuch as ware armour. But the kinge ſaid,to him: Take me for ſuertie that neuer one of them that be appoynted to the, ſhall refuſe to go,where yͧ ſhalt paſſe. That done he left Craterus wͭ the charge of hys campe, and he hym ſelfe paſſed forwardes with ſuch fotemen as were accuſtomed to hys perſon, with thoſe bandes of whom Meleager hadde charge and with a thouſande Archers on horſebacke, taking firſt order wyth Craterus, that he ſhould keape hys campe in ſuch fourme as it had bene vſed before, and cauſe many fiers to be madeof purpoſe, that the enemies might the rather thinke hym to be there ſtill preſent, he aduiſed hym further that if he perceiued Ariobarzanes to get knowledge of hys enterpriſe, and ſo to ſende parte of hys power to the ſtopping of hys paſſage,that then by pretending of an aſſaultehe ſhuld ſhowe al yͤ terrour he could, to drawe his enemies frõ hym to the defence of that place. But of that he hym ſelfe ſhoulde deceiue his enemies,and recouer the hill vpõ them,that thẽ vpon yͤ hearing of the alarome in yͤ Percis campe preparing thẽ ſelues to his reſiſtaũce, he ſhould not doubt to paſſe that way from which they were repulced the day before,iudging they ſhould find no reſiſtaunce,theenemies being conuerted towardes hym. In the thyrd watch he ſet forwardes in greate ſilẽce,without blowing of trompet,& paſſed on by ſuch waye,as was ſhewed him by the guide,Euery ſouldier that was lyght armed caryng thre dayes vitaile. But when he was on hys way beſides the wild rockes and ſharpe ſtones that cauſed thẽ oft to fayle their foting,

Craterus.

Meleager.

the

the ſnowe alſo driuen with the wynd, was a great impediment to them in their iourneye . For they fell diuers tymes downe into pittes, and ſuch as coueted to pull them out, were oft times drawen after. The night alſo wyth the countrey vnknowne, and the guyde of whoſe fidelitye they doubted, encreaſed muche their feare: conſidering that if thei ſhould not deceiue their enemies watch, they ſhould be takē lyke beaſtes. Thei waied alſo that both their ſauegard and of the kinges, lay in the handes of one that was a priſoner. At length they came to a mountaine, where as the way towardes Ariobarzanes laye on the right hande. Then he ſente before by the guiding of ſuche as they had taken priſoners, Philotas, Cenon, Amintas, & Policarpon with a band of the lighteſte armed, whom he aduiſed that foraſmuch as they had both horſemē and fotemen, and yͤ coūtrey fertyll and haboundaunt of fodder, that they ſhoulde make no haſte, but paſſe forwardes faire and eaſely. And he wͭ the eſquiers of his body, & the band of horſemē yͭ thei called Agema, was guided bi another bipath farr of frō yͤ place where his enemies kept their watch. But yͤ paſſage, was ſo ſtreight & ſo holowe that thei ſuffred great trouble & vexaciō in paſſing therof. It was midday, & thei were ſo weried, that of neceſſitie thei muſte take reſt, hauing ſo farre to go & as thei had trauailed alredy, ſauing yͭ the way was not ſo difficult nor ſo roughe, He refreſhed therefore his men wͭ meat & with ſleape, & in yͤ ſecond watche did riſe vp & paſſed the reſte of hys iourne wythout eny great difficultie, ſauing in that parte where yͤ moūtayne begāne to fall aſlope towardes the plaine, their paſſage was ſodeinly ſtopped, by a great gull made with the violence of the

Byppathe

A ſlope.

ſtreames that ranne down the moũtaines, by wearing away of ẏ earth. And beſides ẏ trees ſtãding ſo thicke ⁊ the bowes that grewe one within another appeared before thẽ as a continual hedge. Whẽ they ſawe them ſelues ſtaied after this maner, ſuche deſperacion fel emonges them, that they coulde ſcarſly abſteine from teares: the darkenes being a great encreaſe of their terrour, ſeing they could not enioy eny benefite of the ſtarres. For if eny gaue light, the ſame was taken awaye by the ſhadowe of the trees. And the vſe of the eares could not ſerue for one to receiue counſell and comforte at an other, the wynde whyrled ſo emonges the leaues, and the ſhaking of the bowes made ſuch a noyſe. But at length the daye which they ſo much deſired, deminiſhed wyth his light the terrours that the darknes of the night did make. For bi fetching of a litle compaſſe about, they paſſed the holow gulle, and euery man began to be aguide. Finally thei gotte vp in the toppe of the hill from whence they might beholde their enemies liyng in campe. Then the Macedons ſhewed thẽ ſelues ſtoutly in their armour, appearing ſodeinly on their backes, when thei miſtruſted no ſuche thynge, and there ſlewe ſuche as came fyrſte to encountre wyth them. So that one the one parte the greuous noyſe of them that were ſlaine, and the miſerable ſhowte of ſuche as ran in for ſuccour emonges their owne companye, put the reſt to flyght wythoute making eny reſiſtaunce. When the alarome was once hard in the camp where Craterus lay the army bi and by paſſed forwardes to go through the ſtreightes, in ẏ which thei were repulſed the day before. Philotas alſo who wyth Policarpõ Cennos, ⁊ Amyntas, which were gone the other waye, arriued at the ſame tyme, ⁊ gaue a further terror vnto their enemies. Whẽ ẏ Perciãs

At the lengthe comfort comithe to the afflicted altho god do deffer it for a season.

ſawe their enemies aſſayling in all partes at once, though they were ſo oppreſt with their ſodaine inuaſiõ, ẏ at the fyrſt they were in doubte what to do: yet at length they aſſembled to gather and fought notably, neceſſitie ſtyrring vp the faintnes of theyr hartes, for oftentimes diſpayre is cauſe of mennes good hope. Thei beyng vnarmed, cloſed wᵗ them ẏ were armed, & with the weyght of their bodies pulled their enemyes to ẏ earth, and killed diuers with their owne Weapõs. Arriobarzanes wyth forty horſemen, & fiue thouſand fotemẽ, that kept about his perſone, brake through the battaile of the Macedons, to ẏ great ſlaughter both of hys owne men and of hys enemies, and by making of haſt, recouered Perſepolis the chiefe citie of the countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by ſuch as were within, he renued againe the fight wyth ſuch as were wyth him & ſo was ſlaine: by ẏ tyme Craterus that made all the ſpede he could deuiſe, was come vnto them, & Alexander fortefied his camp in the ſameplace, where he did diſconfite hys enemies. For though thei were all fled and he certaine of the victory, yet bicauſe he found his way ſtopped in many places wyth greate and deape diches, he thought good to vſe circumſpection, and not to make ouer great haſte, not ſo muche for feare of hys enemies force, as of the nature of the ground, which he ſawe apte for thẽ to laye embuſhemẽtes againſt him. As he was paſſing forwardes, he receiued letters from Tyrydates the keper of Darius treaſure, ſygnifying that ẏ inhabiters of Perſepolis hearyng of his cõming, were about to ſpoyle the treaſure, and that therfore he ſhoulde make haſte to preuent the matter: for the way was ready inough, notwithſtãdyng that the ryuer of Araxes was in his way. There was

Cyrcumſpection

Tyridates.

no vertue in Alexander more commendable then hys celeritie, whiche he ſhewed ſpecially in this matter: for leauing his fotemen behind, he traueiled al night with hys horſemen, and by the day light came to the riuer of Araxes. There he found villages at hande, where of the tymber broken downe of the houſes, they made a bridge in a moment, by the helpe of ſtones which were layde in the botome of the riuer. Whē Alexander was paſſed the riuer, & come neare vnto the citye, a cōpany met him ſo miſerable, as ſeldome haue bene found in eny memory: the ſame were Greakes to the nombre of iiii. thouſand, whom the Parcians before time had taken priſoners, and afflicted wyth diuers kyndes of tormentes. For of them ſome hadde their feete cut of, ſome their handes, and other their eares, but all were marked in the fleſhe with hote yrons. The Percians hauing maimed and deformed them after this maner, kept & reſerued them ſtill, as a memory of the deſpite towardes the nacion. But whē they ſawe yͤ thei ſhould become vnder the obedience of another prince, they ſuffred the Greakes to mete Alxāder. They appeared rather to be the Images of ſome ſtraunge monſters, then of men, for nothing could be deſerned, or knowē in them but their voice. The compaſſion of their wretched eſtate cauſed yͤ beholders to let fal no fewe teares then they did them ſelues. For it coulde not appeare whiche of them were moſte miſerable, though their afflictions were diuers. But when they cried out before Alexander, that Jupiter the reuenger of Greace had opened their eies in beholding him that ſhould deliuer them: they iudged then al their griefes as one. Alexander wiped the teares from hys eyes, and willed them to be of good cheare, for that they ſhould both

A ſort of miſerable
Captyues.

The perſians
were a cruell
nacion to ſtrange(r)s
as the [illegible],
therfore god d
plagued them
iuſtlie, & gave
them ſuch mea=
ſure as they
had geven to
others.

ſee their countrey and their frendes, ⁊ he encamped in theſame place, where he mette thē, beyng two forlōges from Perſepolis. The Greakes drue themſelues together to cōſult what was beſt for them to demaunde of Alexāder, and when ſome were of opinyō to aſke dwelling places within Aſia, ⁊ others had more minde to retourne vnto their coūtreis: Entymeō Cymeus ſpake thus vnto them: We that were euen now aſhamed to put our heades out of the priſon ⁊ darkenes we were in, to make ſute for our owne aide ⁊ reliefe, are become of ſuch ſimplicitie, yͭ we preſently deſire to ſhewe vnto Greace as a pleaſant ſpectable, our infirmities and maimes, whereof we haue as much cauſe tobe aſhamed, as to be ſorowful. You muſt thinke yͭ ſuch beare their miſeries beſt, which can find the meanes to hide them moſte, ⁊ that there is none ſo familier a coūtrey to mē that be vnfortunate, as ſolitarines ⁊ forgetfulnes of their former eſtate. For they which make an accōpt of their frendes pitte ⁊ compaſſion, know not howe ſone their teares wil drie vp, no creatures can loue faithfully whō thei abhore. For as calamitie of his nature is querelous, ſo felicitie is alwaies proude, and euery one doth vſe to cōſider his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of an other mans: For except we had al bene in miſery, one of vs long ago had bene wery of an other. What meruayle is it then though mē in felicitie ſeke alwaies their equalles. My opinion is therefore that we as mē whiche longe ago were as dead in this life, ſeke vs a place wherein we may hide our maimed members, ⁊ where as exyle maye hyde out horrible ſcarres. If we ſhall retourne into our countrey, beyng in thys caſe howe can we but be vngrateful to our wyues whome we maried young. Or ſhall our childrē or, our brethren

acknowledge

Alexander had
a pittifull sight
to se his men
in camp Persepolis.
miserie.

Entymeons
oracion.

They beare there
miserie best, wh
can hyde it ye
moste.

The unfortunate
fynde fewe frende.
for Calamitie of
nature is quer-
elous, and fe-
licitie is all=
waies proude
so that one is
sone werie of
an other.

acknowledge vs beyng priſon ſlaues? and though all thynges ſhould there ſuccede as we would wyſhe, yet howe ſmal a numbre of vs be hable to trauaile through ſo many countreys? Howe is it poſſible for vs that be here baniſſhed into the vttermoſte boundes of the Orient, aged, impotent, maimed, to ſuffre thoſe thinges, whiche haue tyred men, that were in force and vyctorious? It is to be axed what ſhall become of our wiues whom chaunce and neceſſitie hathe gotten vnto vs here, for the only comforte of our pryſonement? what ſhal we do wyth our children we haue begotten heare? take them wyth vs, or leaue them behynde vs? If we returne wyth ſuche as we haue heare, none of thoſe in Greace wyl acknowledge vs, and ſhall we then be ſo madde to leaue thoſe comfortes we haue alreadye, beyng vncertayne whether we ſhal come to thoſe we ſeke or no? Verely muche better it were for vs, to hyde our ſelues emonges them which haue bene acquainted wyth vs in our myſerye. Theſe were Eutymeon wordes: But Theatus of Athens, reaſoned to the contrary. There is no creature (qd he) in whome remayneth eny ſparke of honeſtye, that wyl eſteame vs by our outward ſhape, ſeyng that our calamitie is not come of nature, or by our owne deſeruyng, but through miſfortune, and our enemies crueltie. Suche as be aſhamed of fortunes chaūſes, are well worthy to ſuffer miſaduenture. They geue a greuous ſentence vpon the eſtate of mans mortalitie, & diſpaire much of mercy, that deny their cōpacion to mē in miſery. Now therefore ſince yͤ goddes haue offered to you the thing whyche ye durſte neuer haue wiſſhed for: that is your countrey, your wiues, & your childrē, being the thinges whiche men eſteame more then life, and redeame often

Theatus wordes.

They haue hard
herte, that deny
compaſſion to th
em that be in
miſerie.

M.iiii. tymes

tymes with death: why do you doubt for the enioymēt of thoſe thynges to breake out of this impriſonement? I iudge the ayer of our owne countrey moſte natural to vs, where me thinkes is an other maner of liuyng, other cuſtomes other religion, & another tonge, which for ẏ pleaſaūtnes is coueted of ẏ barbarous nacions. What great thynges then be thoſe that ye would wyllingly leaue, ẏ want of which only is the cauſe of your miſery. My opinion is playne ẏ we viſite our coūtrey and our home, and not refuſe ſo great a benefite as Alexander hath profered vs. If eny be ſo detained with the loue of ſuch wiues and children as they haue gottē here in ſeruitude, lette ſuche be no impedyment to others, that of all thinges eſteame moſt their naturall countrey. There were but fewe of hys opinion, for cuſtome that is of greater force then nature, preuailed in that matter. They agreyd to demaunde of Alexander ẏ gifte of ſome place to inhabite in, and there choſe out an hundred to be ſuters vnto hym in that behalfe. When Alexander perceiued them comming towardes hym, thinking that they would haue required the thing that he conceiued in hys minde. I haue appointed to euery one of you (qd he) beaſtes to cary you, and a. M. Deneres, and when you ſhal come to Greace, I wil ſo much prouide for you, ẏ excepting your miſfortune, no other ſhal think thē ſelues in better caſe thē you. But whē he ſawe thē loke ſtil towardes ẏ groūd, and ẏ thei neither lifted vp their eies nor ſpake one word, he enquired ẏ cauſe of their heauines. Thē Entymeon rehearſed againe thoſe things in effect which he had ſpoken before in counſaile. The king therfore pityng no leſſe their demaūd, thē he did their miſfortūe: cōmaunded. iii. M. deneres to be geuē to euery one of them, &

Oft tymes custome preuaileth againſt nature.

garmentes beſides; with cattell, and corne, whereby they might till and ſowe the lande that ſhoulde be appointed vnto them. The next day he aſſembled all the captaines of his armie togethers, and ſhewed thē that there was no citie more enemy to the Greakes, thē the ſame that was ẏ chiefe ſeate of the auncient kinges of Perce, from whence al the great armeis had bene ſent into Greace, and howe Darius firſt, and after Xerxes had come out of that place to moue their vniuſt warre againſt Europe, wyth the deſtruction of which citie, he thought good to reueng their predeceſſours. The inhabiters had abandoned ẏ citie, & fled where feare did driue thē. Wherupon the king ſtreightwayes brought in al hys footemen to the ſpoyle therof. He had before that time wonne many cities, ſome by force, & ſome by compoſicion that were full of riches, & princes treaſure. But the aboundaūce of ẏ citie, dyd excede all the reſt, as in ẏ place where ẏ Perciās had layd their whole ſubſtaunce. Gold and ſiluer was there foūd in heapes, and great plenty of ryche veſtures and furnimentes of houſes, not only for neceſſitie and neceſſary vſe, but for exceſſe and oſtentacion: whiche was ſo great that it gaue the victorours occaſion to fyght emōges them ſelues. eche taking other for enemies that had gotten the rycheſt ſpoyle. The plenty there was ſuche, that they coulde not employe to their vſe the ryches they found, but when they ſawe thynges of value, eſtemed them rather then toke them away. Til ſuche time that euery one coueting, to haue a part of euery thyng, tare and brake a ſonder the princely robes, and the precious plate of curious workemāſhip, with ẏ Images of gold & ſyluer, whych were either beaten in gobettes or plucked in pieces, as euery one caught hold: nothing was

The taking of Perſepolis.

Some tyme god
plagueth excesse
& vayne ostentacion,
with penury [illegible]
[illegible].

left vntouched, nor nothing caried away whole: crueltye bearing no leſſe rule there then couetouſnes, euery one was ſo laden with gold and ſiluer, that they eſteamed not the keping of priſoners, but kylled ſuche as thei firſte ſpared in hope of gayne. There were manye therefore that preuented their enemies handes wyth voluntary death, & diuerſe that clothing them ſelues in their moſt precious apparaile, leaped downe frō the walles wyth their wiues and chyldren. Certayne there were that ſet their owne houſes on fyre, (whyche they iudgeth their enemies woulde els haue done ſhortely after) becauſe they would burne them ſelues emonges their owne familie. At length the king did forbyd eny violence to be done to women, and that no man ſhould meddle with eny thing pertaynyng to them. The ſome of money taken wythin this citye, was greater then eny man could wel credite: but eyther we muſt doubte of the reſte, or els beleue that hath bene lefte in memory, howe that the treaſure there founde, amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand talentes: which treaſure becauſe that Alexander purpoſed to employ in his warres, cauſed horſe and camels to be brought from Suſis and Babilon to cary the ſame. The takyng of the citye of Perſagadis wherin was founde ſyxe thouſand talentes, was an encreaſe to this ſumme, which Citye beyng buylded by Cyrus, was yelded vp by Gobares that had the kepyng therof. Alexander lefte in the caſtle of Perſepolis, thre thouſande Macedons in guariſon vnder Nycarides capitayne of the ſame, and reſerued to Tiridates that deliuered him the treaſure, the ſame honour that he enioyed with Darius. Leauing in this citye the greater parte of his armye, with hys cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio and

The treaſure taken at ~~Perſepolis~~ pſepolis

The some of the treasure were 120000. talente

Perſagadis

Gobares.

Nycarides

Craterus: he with a thouſand horſemē and a band of footemen wythout eny baggage, wente to viſite in the winter ſeaſon, the inward partes of Perce. There he was vexed & troubled wyth ſtormes & tēpeſtes yͭ were in maner intollerable: but yet he letted not to go forwardes in his enterpriſe to yͤ place yͭ he appointed. In his iourney he caine vnto a countrey that was couered all with ſnowe, and froſen by force of the great colde. The wyldnes and deſert maner therof, put the ſouldiers that were weried of trauaile in ſuche a feare & terrour, that they ymagined to haue ſene the vttermoſte boundes of the world. For when they beheld al thinges waſt, and no ſigne appearing of mans habitacion, they were amaſed, & made requeſte to retourne againe, before that the light and the elementes ſhould faile thē. The king would not chaſtice thē being in this terrour, but leaped frō his horſe, and went on fote in the ſnow and the ice. Which thing when his frendes ſawe, they could not for ſhame but folow, then yͤ capitaines did yͤ like, and finally the ſouldiers. The kyng was yͤ firſt yͭ did breake yͤ ice and made him ſelfe a way, whoſe enſample the reſte did folowe. At length hauing paſſed the woodes that were wythout way, thei found here & there ſome appearaunce of habitacion, and perceyued flockes of ſhepe. When the inhabytours that dwelled in cotages diſpackled there aboutes, ſaw men cōming whome they iudged to be their enemies, thinking they had ben encloſed about, flew ſuch as were not hable to folowe them, and fledde to the wyld mountaines that were ful of ſnowe. But at length by cōmunicatiō with ſuch as thei toke priſoners, their wildnes was ſomwhat mitigated, & they yelded them ſelues to Alexāder, whō Mitigatede. he hurted not eny kind of way. Whē he had deſtroied

all that

The Mardons.

al that parte of Perce & brought the townes vnder his obediēce. He came into yͤ cōtrey of yͤ warlike Mardons, which differed much frō the reſt of yͤ other Percians in their maner of liuing. They with their wiues and children dyd inhabite within caues in the mountaines, and liued wyth the fleſhe of ſhepe, & wyld beaſtes. Nor the women according to their kind had eny more appearaūce of mekenes or mildnes then the mē, either in theyr perſonages or diſpoſitions. But their curled heere did hang downe before vpon their faces, and their garmentes came but to their knee. The bādes of their ſlinges wer fillettes for their foreheades whyche they vſed both for ornamente, and for defence. Thys nacion for all their vnciuill and rude maner, could not eſcape to be ſubdued with the ſame force of fortune yͭ others were. So yͭ the .xxx. daie after he departed from Perſepoles, he returned thither againe. Then he gaue rewardes to hys frendes, and to al the reſte according to their deſeruing, deſtributing in maner al the ryches whyche he founde wythin that cytie. But al his excellent vertues of the mind, hys princely qualities wherin he excelled al kinges, both that conſtancy in al daungers and perilles, that celeritie in deuiſing and perfourmyng his enterpriſes, hys promyſe keaping towardes the yolden, hys clemency towardes priſoners, and that temperaūce in lawful and accuſtomable pleaſures: were all defaced throughe the intollerable deſire & delite he had in drinking. For notwithſtanding that his enemie which cōtended with him for thempire, did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his power togethers. And although yͤ people newly conquered had not yet receyued quiet ſubiection, yet he gaue him ſelfe cōtinually to feaſting

This one vyce of dronnkenesse, drowneth and blemisheth an infinite sort of other vertues.

and banquetyng, where womē were euer preſent, not ſuch to whō men had reſpect of honeſtie, but harlotes which had there more libertie, then was beſeming in ẏ cōpany of mē of warre. Emonges thē there was one Thays, who vpō a daie in her dronkēnes, affirmed to Alexander ẏ he ſhould wonderfully winne the fauour of the Greakes, if he would commaund the palaice of Perſepolis to be ſet on fire. The deſtruction wherof (ſhe ſaid) they greatlye deſired, forſomuch as the ſame was the chiefe Seate of the kinges of Perre, which in tymes paſte had deſtroyed ſo many great Cities. Whē the dronken harlot had geuen her ſentence, there were other preſent who being likewiſe drōken, cōfirmed her wordes. Alexander then that had in him more enclinacion of heate then of pacience, ſaid, whi do we not then reuenge Greace, and ſet this Citie on fire. They were al chafed with drinking &, roſe immediatly vpon thoſe wordes to burne that citie in their dronkennes, whiche the men of warre had ſpared in their furye. The king him ſelfe fyrſte, and after his geaſtes, his ſeruauntes &, hys cōcubines ſet fier in the palaice, whych being bulded for the moſt parte of Cedre trees, became ſodeinly in a flame. When the army that was encamped nere vnto the citie ſaw the fire, which they thought had ben kendled by ſome caſualty, came running to quench the ſame againe. But when thei ſawe ẏ king there preſent nouriſhinge of the fire, they powred downe the water whych they brought, and healped likewyſe the matter forwardes. Thus the palaice that was the heade of the whole Orient, from whence ſo many nacions before had fetched their lawes to liue vnder, the ſeate of ſo many kinges ẏ only terror ſomtyme of Greace, the

ſame

Thays. that notable harlot. yt is alwaies ſeene, the wicked are euer geuen to geue ill Councell.

The furye of men of warre, is not ſo dangerous as the beaſtlie rage of dronkardſ.

The deſtruccion of Perſepolis.

ſame that hath bene the ſender forth of the Nauies of ix. thouſand ſhippes, & of the armies that ouerflowed all Europe, that made bridges ouer the Sea, and vndermined mountaynes where the ſea hath nowe his courſe: was conſumed and had his end, & neuer roſe againe in al the age that did enſue. For the kinges of Macedon vſed other cyties which be now in the Percyans handes. The deſtruction of this citie was ſuch that the foundacion thereof at this daye coulde not be found, but that the riuer of Araxes doth ſhew where it ſtode, which was diſtant from Perſepolis .xx. furlõges as ẏ inhabitauntes rather do beleue then know. The Macedons were aſhamed that ſo noble a Citie was deſtroied by their king in his drõkennes: yet at length it was tourned into an earneſt matter, and were content to thinke it expedient that the Citie ſhould haue bene deſtroied after that maner. But it is certayne that when Alexander had taken his reſte, and was become better aduiſed, he repented him of his doing and ſayed: That the Percians ſhould haue doone the Greakes more harme, if it had ben his chaunce to haue raigned in zerxes sted. The next daie he gaue .xxx. talentes for a rewarde to hym that was hys guide into Perce, and from thence he toke his iourney into Media, where a new ſupplie of ſouldiers (of whome Plato of Athens had the conduccion) came to him out of Cilicia, beyng .v.c. fotemẽ & a thouſand horſemen. Whẽ he had by this meanes encreaſed hys powre, he determined to purſue Darius, who was come to Ecathana the head citie of Media, & was purpoſed from thence to haue paſſed into Bactria. But fearing to be preuented bi the ſpede his enemies made, altered his purpoſe

Repentaunce taken to late.

Media.

Ecathana

and

Darius en feared
Alexanders all
Celeritie.

and his iourney. Alexāder was not come nere him by a.M.v.c.fourlōges, but he culd not thinke eny diſtāce ſufficient to defend him againſt his celeritie, & therefore prepared him ſelf rather to fight then tofle. He had wͭ hym .xxx.M. footemen, emonges whō there were iiii.M.greakes, whoſe fidelitie neuer fayled in al hys aduerſe fortune. He had alſo.iiii.M. archers & Slingers beſydes.iii.M.iii.c.Bactrian horſemen, whyche were vnder Beſſus charge, beyng gouernour both of the citie of Bactria, and the countrey. Darius with his bande withdrue a little from the highe waye, and commaundyng the verlets wͭ ſuch as hadde charge of the cariage to paſſe on before, called a coūſayle and ſpake theſe wordes vnto them.

Darius wordes

If fortune had matched me wyth cowardes, and wyth ſuche as eſtemed eny kynd of lyfe, before an honeſt death, I woulde rather haue holden my peace, thē cōſume my wordes in vaine. But I haue had greater experience then I woulde wiſhe, both of your valiaunt courage and fidelitie towardes me. So yͭ I for my parte ought rather laboure to ſeme worthy to haue ſuch frendes as you are, then to doubt whether ye yet remayne the ſame men towardes me yͭ ye were before. For of ſo many thouſandes yͭ were vnder mine Empire, you only haue folowed & ſticked by me, when I was twiſe ouerthrowen in yͤ field, and twyſe enforced to flye away. Your fidelitie & your cōſtancy maketh me thinke that I remayne ſtill a kyng. Traitours and fugytiues reigne in my cities, not for that they be thought worthy of ſuche honour, but they you myght be prouoked by their rewardes to reuolt againſt me. Notwithſtanding, you haue choſen rather to folowe me in my miſfortune, then be partakers of the victorers felicitie. You are worthy, whom the Goddes ſhall reward (if I may not) as vndoubtedly they wyl: There can no poſteritie be ſo ſilent, nor no fame ſo vngratefull, whiche ſhall not wyth due commendacions extole you to yͤ ſtarres. Though I was determined ſtil to haue fledde, whereunto my harte neuer agreed: yet nowe I haue conceiued ſuche a truſte of your vertue & mãhode, yͭ I purpoſe to paſſe againſt mine enemies. Howe long ſhall I be as a baniſhed mã wythin myne owne dominion, & flye frõ a ſtraunge & a forein prince within the boundes of mine owne kingdome? Whẽ I may bi haſarding of the battaile, either recouer that I haue loſte, or els dye an honeſt death? Except paraduẽture it ſemeth better to ſome mẽ, that I ſhould ſubmit my ſelf to my enemies will, & by the enſample of Mazeus & Mithrenes, receyue by peticion the dominion of ſome one naciõ: wherin I iudge that Alexãder had rather folowe thinclinacion of hys glorie then of hys wrath. No, let the gods neuer graunte that it may lye in eny mans powre, eyther to take awaye, or giue vnto me this Dyadeame vpõ my heade, nor that I loſe this Empire ſo long as I haue breath. For in this I am determined that my life and my kingdome ſhall ende both togither. If this mynde remaine likewiſe in you, and if this law be graffed in your hartes, there is non of you yͭ can want libertie, there is none that ſhal be cõpelled to endure yͤ vrkeſomnes of your enemies, neither their proud porte, nor their ſtately lokes. Euerye mans right hand ſhal thẽ giue vnto him ſelfe either a reuenge, or an end of al theſe euils. Nothing cã ſtand longe in one ſtay. I my ſelfe am enſample of yͤ alteracion of fortune, & therfore it is not without cauſe that I loke for a better chaunge. And if the worſt fall, yͭ the goddes

Irksomnes,
proud port,
Statlie lookes.

gods wil neades be againſt vs in oure warres that be lawful and honeſt yet it cannot be taken from vs but that we may alwaye manfully and honeſtly dye. I require and make interciſſiō to you by the honour of our predeceſſours that with ſuch fame and glory poſſeſſed ẏ kingdomes of ẏ whole Oriēt by thoſe mē to whome Macedon ſometyme was tributarie, by ſo manye nauies of ſhippes ſet into Greace, & by ſo many victories wonne, that ye wyll take ſuch courage and harte vnto you, as may ſeme worthy your nobilitie and your nacion. So that wyth the ſame conſtancie of minde wherwith ye haue endured thynges paſte, ye wyll proue and attempt whatſoeuer fortune ſende to you hereafter. I am reſolued for my parte to get my ſelfe perpetuall fame, either by the victory or by the notable aduenture I wyll giue for the winninge thereof. When Darius had ſpoken theſe wordes, the repreſentacion of the preſente peril ſo amaſed theim all, that they were not able either ſhewe to their aduyſe, or to ſpeake a word to that matter, til ſuch tyme as Artabazus the moſt aunciente of his frendes (which before tyme had bene wyth king Philip) begā to ſay his fātacie: We are come into the field (qd he) with you that is our king, in our moſte precious apparaile, and richeſt armour, with the entent to winne ẏ victorie, and if neceſſitye require, not to refuſe death. To whoſe wordes al the reſt with their voice ſeamed to agre, ſauyng Nabarzanes who being preſente in that counſell wyth Beſſus and of hys opinion, conſpired a treaſon ſo wōderful, that the like hath ſeldome bene hard of before. Their determinacion was by force of ẏ ſouldiers they had vnder theyr charge to put their king in hold, wyth thys purpoſe, that if Alexander purſued them to deliuer him then aliue into his handes, to

Artabazus.

wyn therby his fauour, as a thing which they thought he would eſteame greatly. But if they could eſcape cōueniently, then they were in mynde to kil Darius, and deuiding the kyngdome betwixte them, renue agayne the warre againſt the Macedons. They hauinge imagened this treaſō long before in theyr mindes, Nabarzanes thought this an occaſion to make a preparatiue to hys wycked intent, by a perſuaſion whiche he there vttered. I knowe (qd he) that I ſhall ſpeake the thyng which in the firſt appearaūce ſhal not be gratefull vnto youre eares, but pheſicions vſe to cure diſeaſes that be great, wyth ſharpe & bitter medicines. And the ſhipmaiſters when they feare a ſhipwrack, accuſtome to redeame ſuch thinges as may be ſaued, with the deſtruction and loſſe of the reſt. Yet thys matter ẏ I meane is no perſuacion to loſſe, but a deuice by what meanes ye may preſerue your ſelfe and youre kyngdome. We make a warre wherin the goddes ſeame manifeſtly to be againſt vs, & fortune ceaſeth not obſtinately to purſue vs. It is nedefull therfore that we lay new foūdacions, & ſeeke out men whiche haue other fortune. My opinion is therfore, that you deliuer vp your kyngdom vnto ſome mans handes, which ſhal haue the name of king, ſo longe as your enemies remaine within Aſya. And when they be once departed (whych my mind geueth me to be ſhortly) he ſhal reſtore the ſame vnto you againe. The countrey of Bactria is yet vntouched: ẏ Indians & Sacans be at your appointment, ſo many people, ſo many armies, ſo many thouſādes of horſmē and fotemē, haue their force in redines to renue thys warre againe. So ẏ a muche greater force remayneth then ẏ which is cōſumed. Why do we then like beaſtes wylfully runne to a deſtruction that is not neceſſarie:

The wicked neuer
want cunninge glorious
wordes to cloke
their deuelishe
attempte.

It is the propertie of ſuche as be men of courage, rather to deſpiſe death then hate the life, and oftentimes by werines of trauayle, cowardes are driuen to take little reguade of them ſelues. But vertue leaueth nothynge vnprouided. And death beynge the ende of all thynge, it is ſufficiēt if we go not to it like ſluggardes. Therefore if we ſhal go vnto Bactria whyche is now our nexte refuge: let vs for the tymes ſake make Beſſus kynge, who is alreadye ruler of that countrey, and when the matters be once broughte to ſome ſtaye, he ſhal reſtore to you the empire againe, as to the ryghteouſe king. Althoughe Darius perceiued not the greatnes of the miſchiefe that lay hidden vnder hys wicked wordes, yet was it no maruayle thoughe he coulde not abſtayne, for he tourned towardes hym, and ſaide: thou vyle ſlaue, haſt thou nowe founde out a tyme mete to diſcloſe the treaſon that lieth in thy harte: and therewithall pulled out hys ſworde to haue ſlayne hym, if Beſſus and the other Bactrians aboute hym hadde not letted hys purpoſe. They pretendyd to be ſorye for the matter, but mindid in very dede to bynde hym, if he hadde continued in hys purpoſe. In the meane ſeaſon Nabarzanes eſcaped awaye, and Beſſus folowed after: who immediately dyd ſeperate yͤ bādes they had charge, of from the reſt of the armye, becauſe they woulde vſe them aparte to their purpoſe. When they they were departed Artabazus framed his talke accordynge to the eſtate of the tyme then preſente, and beganne to pacifie Darius wyth wordes puttyng him in remembraunce howe hys caſe was ſuche, that it behoued hym to beare quietlye, the foliſhnes or rather the erroure of his owne men: For aſmuche as Alexander was at hand, ouer ſore an enemy for thē though there were no diſcord nor diſobedience. But if we ſhalbe at

Darius did [illegible]
imagyn [illegible],
for he was a [illegible]
[illegible] treato & his
also Bessus his
Companion.

variaūce (qd he) when he doth purſue vs, our matters ſhal ſtand in very euyl plight. Thereupon Darius enclined ſomewhat to Artabaſus aduiſe, & though he was determined to remoue, yet becauſe he perceiued euery man to be troubled in minde, remained ſtil in the ſame place. But he hym ſelfe was ſo aſtonyed wyth ſorowe and deſperacion, that he kept him ſelfe cloſe and came not forth of hys pauilion, Wherupon the campe being wythout gouernment, the heades not conſultinge together as they did before, there roſe emonges them great diuerſitie of opinions, and mocions of mynd. Whyche thynge when Patron ſawe that was capitayne of the Greake ſouldiers, he wylled hys men to put on their armoure, to be in a redines to do as they ſhoulde be appointed. The Percians encamped by them ſelues, and Beſſus remayned emonges the Bactrians, practiſing to cary away the Percians into Bactria, and to leaue Darius: ſignifiynge to them, the ryches of that region yet vntouched, and the perill they were in, if they remayned ſtyll. But they were all in maner of one opinion, that it was ouer greate an offence for them to forſake theyr prince. In the meane ſeaſon, Artabaſus executed the kynges office, and went emonges the Percians in theyr lodgynges, admoniſhyng and exhorting theym, ſometyme aparte, and otherwhyle altogethers, and woulde neuer leaue theym, before it appeared that they woulde do as the kynge woulde haue theym.

Patron.

That done wyth greate payne and difficultye he perſuaded Darius to take hys meate, and to ſet hys mynd vpon hys buſines. But Beſſus and Nabarzanes were ſo gredy to get the gouernment into their handes, that they reſolued to putte in execucion the thynge they hadde longe conſpired betwixte theym. For ſo longe as

Ambition [illegible]
a royall monster,
and a greedie
prince.

as Darius was in ſauegard, they could not hope to cōpaſſe nor atteine ſo great power and auctoritie: the maieſtie of a king is had in ſo great veneracion emonges thoſe nacions: at whoſe only name they aſſemble together, and the reuerēce vſed to them in their proſperitie, cauſe men to ſhewe them the like obedience in aduerſitye. The greatnes and power of the coūtryes whereof Beſſus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not beynge inferior to eny other nacions in that part of the world, either men in, in furniture, or largenes of theyr territory, gaue a greate encourage vnto their wicked diſpoſicions in attemptinge of this matter. For they poſſeſſyng the thyrd part of Aſia, were able to make as great numbre of men, as Darius before had loſte. In confidence wherof they not only diſpiſed Darius, but Alexander him ſelfe, purpoſinge when they were once become lordes of that countrey, to reenforce from thence againe the powre of thempire, & mainteine yͤ warres agaynſt the Macedons. When they had long deuiſed, & debated theſe thynges, they determined to take Darius by yͤ Bactriā ſouldiers, of whom thei had the rule, & then to ſend word to Alexāder that they reſerued hym on lyue, to deliuer hym vnto hys handes. And if ſo be that Alexander ſhould not accept their doing, (whyche in dede they doubted(thē their purpoſe was to kil Darius, and with their power to flie into Bactria. But for ſomuch as they ſawe, that Darius could not be taken openly, ſeing there were ſo many thouſandes ready to aide him. And fearinge alſo the fidelitye of the Greakes, determined to worcke by ſleighte, the thynge that they coulde not bringe to paſſe by force. Theyr deuyſe was to counterfeit a repentaunce of theyr former doynges, in excuſing vnto the kinge the feare they were

The persians
kepe their
kinge in great
veneracion.

Reenforce

When force can
not preuaile, then
policie and diſ-
simulacion muſt
be put in vre.

in. And in the meane ſeaſon they ſent certaine to practiſe wyth the Percians, and to proue theyr myndes. The ſouldiers were toſſed to and fro wyth hoope and feare. Sometime they thought that by leuing of their kyng, they ſhould commit them ſelues to manyfeſt ruyne and deſtruction: and agayne they remẽbred what entertainemente was promiſed theim in Bactria that lay open for them, where they ſhould be receyued wyth ſuch giftes and ryches as they could not wel imagen. Whiles Beſſus & Nabarzanes were beating of theſe thinges in their heades, Artabaſus came vnto them, declaring, how Darius was wel pacified, and that they myght if they woulde, be in the ſame eſtate and degree with hym that they were in before. Therupon they fel to weapyng and purgynge of them ſelues, requirynge Artabazus that he woulde take vpon hym the defence of their cauſe, and carye their requeſt and ſubmiſſion vnto the kyng. The night was conſumed in this kind of buſines. When it was daye Nabarzanes wyth the Bactrian ſouldiers ſtoode at the entrey of the kynges lodging, colouring his preuy treaſon wyth a ſolempne pretence of doing his dutye. Darius cauſed warninge to be giuen for his remoue, and ſo mounted vpon hys chariote after his accuſtomed maner. Nabarzanes & the other traytours fel vpon the ground to worſhippe him, and ſhed teares in token of repentaunce, notwithſtanding that they determined ſhortly after to put him in fetters: mens nature is ſo apte to dyſſimulacion. Darius beinge of a ſimple and gentle nature, was enforced through their behauour not only to beleue yͤ thei pretẽdid, but alſo cauſed him to weape for ioye: yet that could not cauſe the traitours to alter ther purpoſe, whẽ they perceiued what kynd of man, and what maner of

prince

Couetousnes & causethe men to fforget theire dutie bothe to god & man.

Ther is non more miserable then the treatours, to thinke he maie bringe his wicked devyse to effect.

Mans nature is apt to dissemble.

prince they went aboute to deceiue. Darius doubtyng nothing of hys peril that was nexte at hande, made all the haste he could not eſcape Alexander, whom he only doubted. Patron that was captaine of the Greacians commaunded hys ſouldiers to put on theyr harneys, whyche they caried before in truſſes, and to be readye and attempt to euery thynge that ſhould be appoynted them. For he vnderſtandyng the treaſon that Beſſus went about, folowed the kinges chariot ſeking occaſiō to ſpeake wyth hym. And Beſſus doubtynge the ſame thing, woulde not depart from the chariot, but folowed rather as a watche, then a wayter. Patron therefore hauynge taried long, and interrupted oftentymes as he was about to ſpeake, ſtode in a ſtaye betwixte feare and fidelitye, beholdyng the kynge in the face. When Darius perceiued that he behelde hym after that maner he wylled Bubace his Enuche that rode next him, to enquyre of Patron if he hadde eny thinge to ſaye to hym. Patron ſayde ye, but his matter was ſuche as he woulde no man ſhoulde heare. Then he was wylled to come neare, and wythout eny interpretour. (Darius vnderſtandyng ſomwhat of Greake tongue) Patron ſayde vnto hym: Syr of fyftye thouſande Greakes that ſerued you, there is a ſmale numbre of vs remaynyng whyche haue continually folowed you in all fortunes, bearyng vnto you the ſame fidelitie & affection, that we did in your mooſt floriſhynge eſtate. And are determined wherſoeuer you be to take that for our countrey and home, bothe proſperitie, and aduerſitye hath ſo coupled vs together. By whyche inuincible fidelitie that is in vs, I deſire and require you, that you would vouchſafe to lodge within oure campe, and ſuffer vs to be the guarde of your perſone. We haue loſte

Nota.

Bubace.

Patrons wordes to Darius.

Greace, we haue no Bactria to go vnto, al our hope is in you, & God graunte that al other mē had the like. It is not neceſſary I ſhould ſpeake eny more, nor would not demaunde the cuſtody of your perſone being an alien and a ſtraunger, if I knewe that others were wel mynded to wardes you. Althoughe Beſſus was ignoraunt of the Greake toungue, yet his cōſcience pricked him to beleue that Patrō had diſcloſed ſome ſuch matter, & therefore caryyng away ſome part of his wordes, by a greake interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his coūtenaunce, enquired of Patrō, what moued him to geue him ſuch aduiſe. Wherupon he thoughte not good to deferre it eny lenger, but ſaid: Beſſus & Nabarzanes worke treaſō agaynſt you, ſo that your life and your eſtate ſtand in extreame perill, and this daye ſhalbe the laſt either to the traitours, or to you: whoſe wordes if Darius had well wayed & regarded, Patron had receiued great glory of the preſeruaciō of his prince. But let them mocke that liſt, whych be perſuaded yͤ theſtate of man is gouerned at aduenture & by chaunce, but I beleue that euery mā runneth his race by an immutable ordre, and an euerlaſtyng appointment, by a knitting together of cauſes vnknowen appointed longe before. Darius aunſwere was: that although the fidelite of the Greake ſouldiers was ſufficientlye knowen vnto him, yet he was determined neuer to depart from his own nacion, by whom though he might be diſceiued, yet it was harde for him to miſtruſt them: whatſoeuer ſhould chaūce to hym he ſayd, he was minded rather to ſuffer it emonges hys owne ſubiectes, then to parte awaye from them, not deſiryng to lyue if hys owne ſouldiers deſired not his ſauegarde. Whereupon Patron dyſparynge of the

kynges

A giltie conſcience is full of ſuſpicion. & ſuche as be traytors are fearefull leſt their treaſon, ſhould be revealed.

Darius aunſwere vnto Patron.

Good counsell is ofte tymes litle eſteemed.

Nothinge doth happen by fortune and chaunce, but all thinges are governed by gods providence.

kings wel doyng, returned thē of whō he had yͤ charge ready to aduēture eny thing for his ſake. Beſſus in the meane ſeaſon had vtterly determined to ſlea Darius, but fearyng that he coulde wynne Alexanders fauour except he deliuered his enemy into his hādes aliue, deferred his purpoſe til the night folowing. In yͤ meane ſeaſon he came to Darius, and gaue him thankes that he had ſo warely and with ſuch wiſedome auoyded the treaſon of that falſe Grecian, who beyng corrupted by Alexander, ſought nothing but howe to make a preſēt of his head: wherat (he ſaied) he could not maruelle that a mercenary man ſhould leaue eny thing vndone for money, beyng without eny pledge of his honeſty, wͭout houſe & home, baniſhed out of the worlde, a faint frend, and a doubtfull enemye, toſſed here and there at the backe of al men, that wil corrupt him. And thē he fel to purgyng of him ſelf, calling the Gods of his coūtrey to witnes of his innocencye in the matter. Darius by his coūtenaūce ſemed to beleue him, yet he doubted not of the truth of the tale yͭ Patron had tolde him, but he was come to ſuche a pointe, that it was as daungerous for him not to beleue his owne menne, as to be deceyued. There were .xxx. thouſand whoſe litenes was feared to haue cōſented to this conſpiracye: and Patron had but foure thouſande, to whom if he had committed his ſafeguarde, & thereby condempned the fidelitie of his owne nacion, he ſaw yͭ thē they might haue had therof a goodly colour and a pretence, to perfourme the thing they went about, and therfore choſe rather to be killed innocentlye, then to geue enye occaſion whereby he ſhoulde ſeme to haue deſerued death. And yet when Beſſus purged him ſelfe, he aunſwered: that he knewe there was no leſſe iuſtice in Alexander then manhode,

Treators are euer redye to accuse the innocentes.

The wicked will not sticke to sweare and forsweare.

Darius held the woolue by the eares.

and that they were deceiued that loked for eny reward of treaſon at his handes, knowyng that there was no ſorer puniſher nor reuenger of the breache of fidelitye. When the night drewe neare, the Percians after their accuſtomed maner put of their armoure, and repayred to the next villages, to prouide thinges neceſſarye. But the Bactrians (as Beſſus had commaũded them) ſtode ſtyll armed. In the meane ſeaſon Darius had ſent for Artabaſus, and ſhewed hym what Patron had declared. Whe[r]upon Artabaſus made no doubte, but that he ſhoulde streyghtwayes committe hym ſelfe emong the Greakes, thinkyng that the Percians whẽ the kinges perill ſhoulde be publiſhed abroade, woulde ioyne wyth the Grecians. Yet Darius predeſtinate to his chaunce, could not beare thẽ eny wholeſome coũſel, nor ſought for eny helpe in that caſe, but imbraced Artabazus, as though he ſhoulde neuer ſee him more, and beyng wette with the teares that one of them lette fall vpon an other, cauſed Artabazus to be remoued from him, and becauſe he woulde not ſee his ſorowe in departynge from hym, he couered his face, and fell flatte vpon the ground. Thẽ ſuch as were accuſtomed to the guard of his perſon, which ſhould haue ben his defẽce in all perils, fledde awaye, thinkyng them ſelues ouer weake for ſuche a numbre of armed men, as they ſuppoſed to be commynge. Then there was great ſolitarines wythin his lodgynge, for none remayned about the kyng, but a fewe Enukes, that had no place to repaire vnto. Then he debated and deuiſed with hym ſelfe alone, ſometyme one thing, and ſometyme another, and by and by he wared werye of that ſolitarines whiche before he toke for a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whom he behelde and ſaied: Go prouide for your

Darius was of a
kynde and mylde
dispossission, yet
could he not re-
ceyve wholesome
councell, so that
we maye see everye mã
is subiect to suche
chaunce as god shall
shall sende.

your ſelues, which accordyng to your duties haue bene true to your Prince till the laſt houre. Here I do tarye for the fatall lawe of my deſtenye. Peraduenture ye do maruaile that I do not ende mine owne life. I had rather dye through other mens wickednes, then by mine owne. After thoſe woordes Bubace fylled bothe the kinges lodgyng, and alſo the whole campe with mournyng and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and tearyng their clothes, bewayled his caſe wyth a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Perciās, they were ſo amaſed for feare, that they durſt neither put on their armoure, leſt they myghte geue occaſion to the Bactrians to ſette vpon them, nor thei could not remayne quiet, leſt they might ſeme ſo wyckedlye to leaue their Kyng. There were clamours throughout the Campe of diuers ſortes and tunes, wythout enye heade, and wythout eny appoyntment. Suche as perteyned to Nabarzanes and Beſſus, deceyued by ſuche lamentation as they hearde, brought tydynges to the reſte, that the kyng hadde killed him ſelfe. Wherupon they repayred thither ſo faſte as they could gallop, & ſuch folowed after as they had choſen to be miniſters of their miſchiefe. When they were entred into the kinges pauiliō, becauſe the Enukes declared that he was on lyue, they cōmaunded him to be bounde. Thus he whiche before was caried in a chariot, and honored of his men like a God, was made priſoner by his owne ſeruauntes without eny foreyne power, and put into a vile carte couered ouer with beaſtes ſkynnes: & ſpoyle was made of the kinges ſtuffe, in ſuch ſort, as if it had bene taken in the warres. And when they had laden them ſelues with the pray gotten after ſo foule a maner, they conueyed them ſelues into their countreys. But Artabazus with thoſe of whom he

Darius taken priſoner bi Beſſus and Nabarzanes.

Nota.

he had the charge, and with the Greake ſouldiers, toke the way towardes Parthina, thinkyng to be more ſure eny where, thē in the felowſhip of thoſe traytours. The Percians whom Beſſus had burdened with ſo manye faire promiſes, ſpecially bicauſe they had no other man to folow, ioyned them ſelues to the Bactrians, and the thyrde daye ouertoke them. But to the entent Darius ſhold not wāt ſuch honour as was due vnto his eſtate, Beſſus cauſed him to be bounde with golden fetters: ſuche were the deſpites that hys Fortune made hym ſubiect vnto. And for that he ſhoulde not be knowen by his apparaile, they couered the cart with foule hides of beaſtes, & cauſed vnknowen men to driue it forwardes And leſt by enquerye in the army he myght be diſcouered, ſuche as had the charge of him folowed a farre of. When Alexander heard that Darius was remoued to Echatane, he left the way that he was in, and wyth all the ſpede he coulde make, folowed after Darius ẏ was ſaied to be gone into Media. But whē Alexander was come to Taba, whiche is the chiefe citye of Paratacen, it was there ſhewed him by fugitiues that came out of Darius campe, how he was fled with al ſpede into Bactria. And afterwardes vnderſtode the matter more certeinlye by Bagiſtenes of Babilon, who coulde not affirme directly ẏ Darius was vſed as a priſoner, but declared that either he was in daunger of death or of captiuitye. Alexander vpon thoſe newes called hys Capitaynes together, and ſhewed them that he had a great enterprice, but ſuch one as the trauaile was very ſhort. Darius (he ſaied) was not farre of, forſaken of his owne men, and either taken as a priſoner, or els ſlaine. In whoſe perſone he ſhewed their whole victorye to conſiſte, and the greatnes of the matter, to be rewarde

Taba.
Parataeen

ſufficient of their haſte making. They all cried wyth one voice that they were redy to folowe him where he would go, and that he ſhuld neither ſpare their labour nor their perill. Wherupon he cõueied hys army forwardes with merueylous ſpeade, rather in poſte, then after the common ordre of marching, neither reſting daye nor night till they had paſſed. v.c. furlonges, and come to the village where Darius was taken. There Melun Darius Interpetour, who by reaſon of hys Melun. ſicknes could not folowe the army, was taken through Alxanders celeritie: who faynyng that he fledde awaye from hys maiſter, declared the whole matter, but how great ſo euer his deſire was to ouertake his enemies, it was neceſſary for hym to giue his men reſt of their trauayle. So that determining to leaue the reſte of his army behinde. did choſe out ſixe thouſand horſemen, and added to them .iii. c. called Dimichas, that were fotemen heauy harniſed, but yet ryding on horſback, and whẽ the matter and place required lyghted and fought on foote. When Alexander was takyng order about theſe thinges, Orſellus and Mithracenes which for the hatred they bare to Beſſus for hys treaſon, fledde from hym, declaring to the kynge that the Perſians were but. v. c. furlonges of, and profered to guide hym by a nearer waye. Their comming was gratefull to the kinge, for by their conduction in the begynning of the night, he toke his iourney with ſuch horſemen as he had appointed, willing his fote battaile to folowe after wyth all ſpede poſſible. He marched forwardes in a ſquare battayle, and kept ſuche an ordre that the fyrſte might ioyne wyth the laſte, and ſuch as came behind, releue them that went before. When thei had paſſed. ccc. furlonges on their way, Broculus the Broculus.

ſonne of Mazeus that ſometyme hadde bene gouernour of Siria met Alexander: and declared that Beſſus was within two hũdred furlonges, marching with his men out of all ordre, as one that did caſte no doubtes. It ſemed to him (he ſaid) that thei went towardes Hircania, wherfore if haſte were made, thei might ſone be ouertaken, and founde diſpercled here & there, out of al araye. And by reaſõ he affirmed alſo that Darius was yet aliue. Alexander ẏ was hote before in his purſuite, was wͭ his wordes much more pricked forwardes, ſo ẏ he cauſed them put ſpores to their horſes, and paſſed forwardes a gallop, goyng ſo farre forth, that they myghte heare the noiſe of their enemyes as they marched. But the duſte that dyd ryſe dymmed their ſight, and therefore he ſtayed a while, tyl the duſte was vaniſhed awaye. Then bothe Beſſus perceyued the Macedons, and they ſawe the Percians as they fled. Not withſtanding thei had not ben hable to haue matched with them, if Beſſus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betraie his maiſter. For beſides that they exceded the Macedons in nombre and powre, thei forweried and ſore traueyled, ſhould haue hadde to do with them that were luſtie and freſhe. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres, put thẽ in ſuch feare, that thei could not ſtaye them ſelues. Then Beſſus and other that were parteners of the cõſpiracy, came to ẏ carte where Darius was, & perſuaded him to leape on horſebacke, and flie from hys enemies that were at hande. But he cryyng out ẏ the Gods were come to his reuenge and calling for the aſſiſtaunce of Alexander, ſaid: that in no wyſe he woulde go with traitours: wherewyth they were ſo ſturred to wrath, that they threw dartes at hym

Darius wounded, to death

and left him woũded in many places of his body. They thruſt in the beaſtes alſo that drew the cart, to thintent they ſhould not be able to paſſe forwardes, and ſlew his two ſeruaũtes that did waite vpon him. Whẽ they had cõmitted this act, they thought it expedient to diſperſe them ſelues in their flyynge. And ſo Nabarzanes toke the waye to Hircania, and Beſſus to Bactria, wyth a few horſemen that eche of them had in their company. When their ſouldiours were forſaken of their Capitaynes, they ſcatered here and there, where hope and feare did leade theim. There were onelye.v.c.horſẽmen which aſſẽbled them ſelues together, & ſtode in a mãmoryng whether it were better to reſiſte or to flie. Alexander vnderſtandyng the feare his enemies were in, ſente Nycanor before with parte of his horſemen to kepe theim occupied, and he wyth the reſte folowed after. There were ſlayne to the number of.iii. M. of ſuche as ſtode at their defence, and the reſt were driuẽ in flockes like beaſtes, from killyng of whom Alexander commaunded his men to abſtayne. Emonges all the priſoners, there was none yͤ was able to ſhewe the cart that carted Darius, for euery one was ſo deſirous to fynde hym, that as they ſawe eny carte, they ſought hym therin, and yet they could perceyue by no meanes where he was become. Alexãder made ſuch haſte, that ſcarſely.iii.M. horſmen folowed him of all his nũbre, but the great nõbre of the Perciãs fel into their lappes that folowed behynde. It is ſcarſely credible to be beleued, that there ſhoulde be more priſoners taken, then there were men to take thẽ. But fortune in that feare hadde ſo taken awaye their ſence, that they coulde not conſider their owne multitude, nor the ſmall numbre of

Mammoringe

their enemyes. In the meane ſeaſon the beaſtes that drew Darius wagon, hauyng no man to gouerne thẽ, were ſwarued out of the highe waye: and wanderyng here and there, had drawen Darius four furlonges frõ the place he was woũded, into a vale, where they fainted, by reaſon of their heate and their hurtes. There was a ſpringe at hande, which certaine that knewe the countrey had ſhewed to Poliſtratus a Macedon, that was ouercome for thirſt. And whiles he was drinkyng water out of his helmnet he ſpied the beaſtes that were thruſte in with dartes, and marueilyng that they were not rather caried awaye, then hurt after that maner.

Poliſtratus

He loked and found in the foule carte the body of a mã halfe aliue, & at length perceyued it was Darius that lay there ſore wounded, & drawyng of his breath. Then Poliſtratus brought to him a Perſian whome he had taken priſoner. Whom when Darius knewe by hys voyce, to be of his coũtrey, ſaied: that he toke it for a cõfort of his preſent fortune, that he ſhould ſpeake before he died, to one that vnderſtode hym, and not vtter his laſt wordes in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexãder, that though he had neuer deſerued eny thing at his handes yet it was his chaunce to die greatly his debitour, and had great thanks to geue him, for the fauoure and goodnes that he had ſhewed towardes his mother, his wife, and his children, to whom he had not onely graunted life, but alſo the reuerence of their former eſtate and dignitie, wheras he of his kynſmen and frendes, to whom he had geuen bothe life and landes, was now by thẽ bereued of all. He prayed therfore that he might alwayes be victorour, and that the empyre of the whole worlde myght come vnto his handes, requiryng

The meſſage that Darius ſent to Alexander before his death· was not onlye thankfull, but alſo lamentable.

ring that he would not neglect to take renẽgeaũce of ſo foule an act, not only for his cauſe, but for enſample and the loue of other princes: whych ſhould be a thing honourable vnto him and profitable in time cõmyng. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes he fainted, & calling for water, after he had dronke, ſaid to Poliſtratus that preſented it vnto him. Whatſoeuer thou arte, thys is vnto me the laſt miſery in al my aduerſe chaunce, that I am not able to requite the this benefite. But Alexander ſhal rewarde the, & the goddes ſhal requite him for his great humanite and clemencye ſhewed towardes mine. Unto whom, in my behalfe thou ſhalte geue my hand as a pledge of a kings promiſe. And hauing ſpoken theſe wordes, and geuen Poliſtratus his hande, he died. When his ſaiynges were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corſe lay, and there bewayled with teares, that it was his chaunce to dye a death ſo vnworthy for ſo great an eſtate, and takinge of hys owne cloke to couer the dead coorſe withal adorned the ſame withal thynges that pertained to a king, & ſente it to his mother Siſigambis to be buried, in ſuch ſort as the coũtrey maner was to bury kings, and to be layd emonges the reſt of his predeceſſours.

A misserable deathe
for so greate a
monarcke, howe
beit all thinge do
come to passe
accordinge to the
will of god.

⁂

¶ here the firſt parte of the ſyxt booke doth want, wherin was conteyned the cauſe of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparacion of both nacions to the battaile that was fought betwixt Antipater Alexanders lieutenaunt in Macedonia and Agis, kyng of the Lacedemonians.

⁂

The ſixte boke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the great Alexander, Kyng of Macedon.

The bataile betwyxt Agys kynge, of Lacedemon and Antipater lieutenāt in Macedonia.

HE preaſed forwardes where the fight was moſt daungerous, and ſleyng ſuche as made moſte reſiſtaūce, put the greater part of hys enemies to flyght. Thē ſuch as were victorours before began to flye, tyl they hadde drawen their enemies gredely folowyng thē, out of yͤ ſtreitgh into a more plaine ground. In the retire manye of them were ſlaine, but when they had once recouered ſuch a ground wher as they might ſtay and fal in ordre, the battailes ioyned equally agayne on both ſides. Emonges thē al, the king of the Lacedemonians appeared mooſt notable in all mens eyes, not ſo muche by the bewtye of his armour and goodly perſonage, as through the greatnes of his courage, wherein only he coulde not be ouercome. He was layd to on al partes, both neare hande, and a farre of. Yet for al that, he endured longe in armes againſte his enemies, auoyding their ſtrokes part wyth hys target, and part wyth hys bodye, till ſuche tyme as he was thruſt through both thighes with a ſpeare, whē by great effucion of bloude he was not able eny longer to endure the fyghte: Then the eſquiers for his bodye toke hym vp vpon his target, and caried him into their cāp, that with greate payne endured the ſturrynge of hys woundes. The Lacedemonians for all their kynges departure, gaue not ouer the fyght, but aſſone as they could recouer eny grounde of aduauntage, they cloſed them ſelues in battaile together, and receyued ſtowtlye their enemies that came ful vpon them. There is not found in eny memorye, of a battaile more vehemently fought then that, wher the armies of two nacions that were moſt excellent in the warres contẽdid togethers, for the vyctory, not yet enclining to eny part. The Lacedemonians called to mynde ther auncient manhode and prowes, and the Macedons conſidered their preſent eſtimacion they had in the world. The Lacedemonians ſtriued for their libertie, and the Macedons for the ſouereintie. The one partie lacked a capteine, and the other rowme to fighte in. The manifolde aduentures and chaunces that fell that daye, encreaſed both the hope and feare of bothe parties: fortune as it were of purpoſe bringing ſuch valiaunt men to fighte togethers neyther of them preuailyng vpon other. But the ſtreghtnes of the place wherein they foughte, did not ſuffre thẽ to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, and ſuche as ſtode wythout daunger, encouraged the other wͭ their crie. At lengthe ẏ Lacedemonians began to faynt, & ſcarſly able for ſweating to ſuſteine their armour, beganne to drawe backe, to haue the more libertie to fle from their enemies that preaſed ſore vpon theym. When they were once broken and ſcatered abroade, the victorours purſued after. And paſſinge the place wherupon the Lacedemonians batteile was firſte araynged, made a ſore purſuit vpon Agys: who ſeyng hys men flyinge, and his enemies approche at hand, wylled hys men to ſette hym downe: where ſtretchynge out hym ſelfe, to fele if the force of hys body coulde aunſwere vnto hys harte. When he founde him ſelfe vnable to ſtande, remaynynge vppon hys knees, put on hys helmet, and coueryng hys body wyth hys target, ſhaked hys ſpeare and prouoked his enemies to drawe neare, if eny were deſirous of his ſpoyle, but there was not one that preſſed neare him, but did caſt dartes a farre of, which he alwayes toke and threwe at his enemies againe, til ſuch time as he was thruſt into the bare breaſt with a ſpeare. But when the ſame was pulled out of the wounde, he fainted, & bowing him ſelf vpõ his target, ſhortly after fel downe dead, bloud and life failynge both together.

Agis was ſlayne.

There were ſlaine of the Lacedemonians. v. M. iii. C. lx. and of the Macedons not paſſyng. iii. c. but ther was ſcarſely eny of them yͭ eſcaped vnwounded. This victory brake the hartes not only of the Lacedemonians and of their confederates, but alſo all other which lay in wayte loking for the ſucceſſe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant howe the countenaunces of ſuch as dyd gratefye his victory, differed muche from the entẽtes of their hartes: but deſirous to finiſhe the warre that was begon, perceyued it neceſſary for hym to diſſemble, and ſuffer him ſelfe to be deceyued. And though he reioyſed muche in the fortune of the thinge, yet he feared the enuie that might enſue therof, being a greater matter then the eſtate of a lieutenaunte dyd beare. For Alexander was of ſuch a nature, that he deſired his enemies hadde wonne the victory, ſhewynge manifeſtly that he was not contented with Antipaters good ſucceſſe, thinking that what honour ſoeuer chaunſed to eny other manne, was a derogacion to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knewe ful wel his ſtomake, durſt not vſe the vyctory accordinge to his owne wyll, but aſſembled a counſell of Greakes, to aduice what they thoughte expedient. The Lacedemonians made no other requeſt, but that they might ſend Embaſſadours vnto Alexander, which vpon theyr repayre to hym.

Alexander was envious of all mens good fortune, save his owne, & thought all honor that chanced to other men, was a derogation of his glorie.

him and their ſuite made, obtained a general pardõ for al men, ſauyng for ſuch as were yͤ aucthours of the rebellion. The Megapolitans whoſe citie dyd abide the ſiege, were compelled to pay as a fyne for their rebelliõ xx. talentes to the Atheniãs, and the Aetolians. Thys was the ende of the warre, whych beynge ſodeinly begon was ended before that Alexãder had ouerthrowen Darius at Arbella. Aſſone as hys minde was deliuered of thoſe preſent cares, as one that coulde beare better the warres then quietnes, gaue him ſelfe all too pleſures. By the vices wherof enſewing he was ouercome, whom no powre of yͤ Perciãs or eny other was able to ſubdue. He was geuẽ to banqueting, out of ſeaſõ & to a fonde delight of drinking & watchinge in plaies emonges flockes of Concubines, that drewe him into ſtraunge maners & cuſtomes. Which he folowynge as thynges better then hys countrey vſages, offended thereby greatly both the eies and yͤ hartes of his owne nacion, and cauſed manye yͭ loued hym before entierly, to hate hym then as an enemye. For the Macedons yͭ were obſtinate in keaping their own diſcipline, and acacuſtomed not to be curious, but ſo ſcarſe in their diet as might ſuffice nature: when they ſaw him go about to bryng in emonges theim the vices of thoſe nacions whych they had ſubdued: conſpiracies then began to be made againſt him, mutine roſſe emongs the ſouldiers, and euery one complaynning to an other, frely vttered their griefes, wherby he was prouoked to wrath, to ſuſpicion and ſodeine feare: diuers other inconuenience enſuing therupon, which ſhalbe declarered hereafter. Alexander being giuen as it hath bene ſaide before to vnreaſonable banquetinge, wherein he conſumed both daye and nyghte. When he was ſatiſfied of

Megapolitans.

howe Alexander in proſperyte fell to vice.

They that habounde in securitie, are redye to enter into many vyces, euen suche as are moste beastlie.

Mutyne

eatyng

eating and drinking, paſſed ouer the tyme with plaies and paſtimes. And not contented wᵗ ſuche muſicians as he brought out of Greace, cauſed the womenne that were captiue, to ſing before him ſuch ſonges as abhorred the eares of the Macedōs not accuſtomed to ſuch thinges. Emōges thoſe women Alexander ſpyed one more ſadde thē the reſt, whiche with a certaine ſhamefaſtnes did ſtriue wyth them that brought her forth. She was excellēt of bewty, & through her ſhamefaſtnes, her bewtie was augmented. Becauſe ſhe did caſte her eies towardes the earth, couering her face ſo much as ſhe might: gaue ſuſpiciō for him to think ẏ ſhe was cūe of greter nobilite, thē ẏ ſhe ought to be brought in, in ſuche kinde of paſtimes. And therfore being demaūded what ſhe was: ſhe ſhewed hir ſelfe to be ẏ doughter of Occhus that lately reigned in Perce, & the wife of Hiſtaſpis which was Darius kinſman, and had ben his lieutenaunt ouer great armies. There yet remayned in the kynges harte ſome ſmale ſparckes of hys former vertue. For in reſpect of her eſtate being come of kynges bloud, and the reuerence he bare to ſuche a name, as the neſe of Occhus, commaūded her not only to be ſet free but alſo to be reſtored to her goods and her huſband, whome he wylled to be ſoughte out. The nexte day he appointed Epheſtion to brynge all the priſoners vnto the court, wher enquering of the nobilitie of euery one commaunded them whiche were deſcended of noble bloud to be ſeuered from the reſt, emōgs whome they founde Oxatres brother to Darius, that was no leſſe noble of mynd then of bloud. There was made of the laſt ſpoyle. xxvi. M. talentes, whereof. xii. M. were conſumed in rewardes emonges the men of warre; and the ſūme amoūted to no leſſe value that

Shamefastnes is more bewti=
full, then the
ornamentes of
coloure.

Hiſtaſpis.

Alexander enquired
suche as were come
of noble pare=
ntage, severinge
them from the
rest.

was conueied awaye,by them that hadde the kepinge thereof. There was one Oxybates a noble manne of Perce that was put in priſon by Darius,and appointed to ſuffer death,whom Alexander deliuered ⁊ gaue vnto him the ſeigniorie of Media,and receiued Darius brother emonges the numbre of his frendes, reſeruing to him al the accuſtomed honoure of his nobilitie. Then thei came to the coũtrey of Parthenia,thẽ being but obſcure and vnknowen:but nowe the heade of all thoſe countreis whiche lie vpon Tigre and Euphrates,and be bounded with the redde ſea. This coũtrey beinge frutefull and aboundaunte of al thynges, was taken by the Scithians,whiche poſſeſſyng parte both of Aſia and Europe,bee troublous neighbours to them both. The Scithians,whiche inhabite vpon the Boſpheron ſea,are aſcribed to be in Aſia. And ſuch as be in Europe,poſſeſſe the countreis liyng on the lefte of Thrace,ſo far as Boriſthenes,and from thẽce right forth ſo farre as the ryuer of Thanais, that parteth Europe and Aſia. It is certaine that the Scythes, of whome the Percians be diſcended,came not frõ Boſpheron,but out of Europe. There was a noble citie in thoſe daies called Hecatomphilos builded by the Greekes,where Alexander remained wyth his army,cõueyinge vittailes thether from all partes. Emonges the ſouldiers liyng there in idelnes, there roſe ſodaynely a rumoure,entered into their heades without eny certaine auctour or beginning. The rumor was,how that Alexander ſatiſfied with the actes he had done,purpoſed immediatelye to retourne into Macedon. Thys fame was not ſo ſone ſowen abroade, but that they ranne lyke madde menne to theyr lodgynges,

Oxydates.

Parthenia.

Boſpheron.

Boriſtones.

Hecatomphilos.

A tumulte that roſſe vp on a rumour

and

After longe trauell, euerye man coueteth to be at home.

and truſſed vp their baggage and their ſtuffe: making ſuch preparacion to depart, that euery man iudged warninge had bene geuen to remoue, and that the thynge had bene done by appointment. The tumult that ryſſe in the campe by ladinge of cariages, & by the callyng yͤ one made vnto another, came vnto the kynges eares. This rumoure obteined the ſoner credite, by the dyſpatche of certaine Greake ſouldiers, whom Alexander had diſmiſſed into their countrey, wyth the gifte of. vi. thouſande deneres, to euery horſeman. Therupon takyng occaſion to thinke that the warre had bene at an ende. Alexander, whoſe purpoſe was to paſſe into India, and the vttermoſt boundes of the Orient. was no leſſe afraide of this matter, thē the caſe required. And therefore called before him the capitaines of his army, with the teares in his eies, made a greate complainte vnto theym: that in the middle courſe of his glorye he ſhould thus be pulled back, and compelled to retourne into his countrey, rather as a man vainquiſhed thē as a victorour. Whiche miſfortune (he ſaide) he coulde not impute to his ſouldiers, nor iudge yͭ theyr cowardnes did geue impediment to his procedinges, but yͭ it was onely the enuye of the goddes, that put ſo ſodaine a deſire of their countrey into the mindes of valiaunt mē, which within a while ſhould haue returned with greater glory and fame. Therupon they al promiſed to trauaile in reformacion of the matter, offeringe them ſelues in althinges (were they neuer ſo difficult) to do as he woulde haue them. And they promiſed alſo, the obedience of the ſouldiers, if ſo be yͭ he woulde make ſome gentle and apt oracion to pacifie them: which were neuer yet ſene departe frō him in eny deſperacion or diſturbaūce of mynd, if they once beheld the chearfulnes of his countenaunce, and the courage proceadyng frõ his harte. He promiſed ſo to do, and required at their hande to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to geue him eare. When all thinges were prepared whiche were thought expedient for the purpoſe, he aſſembled all his armye together, and made this Oration vnto them. When ye conſider(my ſouldiours)the greatnes of the actes whiche ye haue done, and the manifolde conqueſtes that ye haue made, it is no maruelle at all, that ye be enclined to quietnes,and fully ſatiſfied with fame and glory. For leauyng to ſpeake of the Illiriãs, & Triballes,of Boecia, Thracia, & Sparta,of the Acheans,and Peloponeſians,whom I haue ſubdued parte in perſone, and the reſt by appoyntmente. I wyll not make rehearſall of the warre we began at Helleſpont, and how we deliuered from the intollerable ſeruitude of the barbarians nacions, Ionas, and Aeolides, and gote vnto our poſſeſſion bothe Caria, Lydia, Capadocia Phrigia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia Piſides, Cilicia. Syria, Phenices, Armenia, Perce, Mede, and Parthenia. We haue gotten more countreys, then other haue takẽ cities, & yet(I am ſure) the multitude haue cauſed me to leaue ſome of thẽ vnreherſed. If I could thinke that the poſſeſſion of theſe landes that we haue conquered in ſo ſhorte time could remayne ſure vnto vs, then(my ſouldiours) I would, though it were againſt your willes, breake from you, to viſite my houſe, and my home, to ſee my mother, my ſiſters, and my countrey menne, to enioye there the laude and glory that I haue gotten with you. Where as the ioyfull conuerſation of our wiues, our children, and Parentes, peace, quietnes, & a ſure poſſeſſion of thinges gotten through our valiaũtnes do tary for vs, as large rewardes of our victory.

Alexanders oracion vnto the ſouldiers.

victory. But if we wil confeſſe the trueth, this new empire whiche we haue not yet at commaundement, but is kept as it were by waye of entreatie, doth require a time, yͭ this ſtiffe necked people may learne to bear our yoke, and by framyng their diſpoſitions to a more humanitie, bring their cruell nature to a more ciuill conuerſation. Do we not ſee that the corne in the fielde aſketh a time for his ripynge? and thoughe the ſame be withoute ſence, yet hathe it his courſe to be brought to perfection. Do you beleue that ſo many nacions not agreyng with vs in religion, in cuſtome, nor in vſe of tongue, accuſtomed to the Empire ⁊ name of another man, wil be conquered and brought to ſubiection with the winnyng of one battayle? No truſt me, they be kept vnder with the feare of our power, and do not obey vs of their owne good willes. And they which ſhewe you obedience when ye be here emonges thē, when you be abſent will be your enemies. You muſt thinke that ye haue to do with wild beaſtes, which beyng fierce of nature, whē thei be firſt taken, muſt be ſhut vp ⁊ tamed wͭ time. Hitherto I haue reaſoned with you as though we had cōquered the whole dominion yͭ perteined to Darius, whiche is nothing ſo. For Nabarzanes poſſeſſeth Hircania, ⁊ the traytour Beſſus not only enioieth Bactria, but alſo threateneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahás, Maſſagets, Sagans, and the Indians, remayne yet in their owne libertie and iuriſdiction, whiche ſhall not ſee our backes ſo ſone turned, but they will folowe vs in the tayles. They all haue a certayne frendſhip and amitye one wyth an other, but we be all ſtraungers and forners vnto them. There is no creature but that wyll more gladlye be obediente to rulers of his owne

Cyvill conuerſacion

nation,

nacion, then to foryners, be their gouernement neuer ſo terryble. We are dryuen of neceſſitie therefore to winne that we haue not, or els to loſe that we haue alredy gotten. As phiſicions in ſicke bodies will leaue no humour that maye hurt, ſo lykewiſe we muſte cut away whatſoeuer ſhall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not ſene great fiers riſen of ſmal ſparkes not regarded? We maye not neglect eny thing in our enemies, whom the more we deſpiſe, yͤ more ſtrong we make thẽ. And becauſe you ſhal not thinke it ſuche an impoſſibilitie for Beſſus to make him ſelf king, wher as a kyng wanteth: you ſhall vnderſtand that Darius came not to his empire bi enheritaũce, but got into the ſeate of Cirus by the benefite of Bagoas hys Enuke. We commit an heynous offence (my ſouldiers) if we make warre agaynſt Darius, ⁊ put him downe for the intent to gyue hys kyngdome vnto hys ſeruaunt, yea, and to ſuche one as attempted ſo vyle an acte agaynſt his maiſter, at ſuch a tyme as he hadde moſte neade of healpe. And whome, we beyng hys enemyes woulde haue ſpared: he being his ſubiect, put him in cheines as a captiue, and finally ſlewe him becauſe he ſhould not be preſerued by vs. Shal you ſuffre this kind of man to reigne? no let vs make all the ſpede we maye to ſee him crucified and ſo to ſhewe vnto all kinges and nacions a iuſtice done vpon one, that ſo vilely falſefied his fayth. If the reporte ſhould come vnto you beyng in your owne countreis, that the ſame mã were diſtroyeng of the Greake cities about Heleſpont, O god how ſorye would you be then, and howe muche would you lamente that Beſſus ſhould enioye that you haue gotten, and vſurpe the rewardes of your victory? Then would you make haſt to recouer your owne, thẽ would

you

Smale ſparcke a
growe to a greate
fyre.

Darius was
not kinge by a
enheritaunce.

you bende your ſelues to the warres. But howe much better is it nowe to oppreſſe hym whiles he remayneth in ſuche feare, and is vncertayne what waye to take? Shall we ſpare to ſpende. iiii. dayes iourney to come to hym, that haue ouertroden ſuche ſnowes, that haue paſſed ſo many riuers, that haue clymed ſo many moũtaines? to whoſe iourney the flowing ſea coulde be no impedimẽt, nor the ſtreight of Cilicia could ſhut vp our waye. Now all thinges are made playne and open, and we ſtande in the entrey of our victory. There be but a fewe fugitiues and killers of their maiſters that do remaine. What more notable worke can you leaue vnto your poſteritie, to be regiſtred by fame vnto your glorye then to reueng ſuche as were traytours to Darius? You ſhal therby ſhew that whẽ you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended wyth his death, & that no wicked man coulde eſcape your handes. Which thing if you bring to paſſe, how muche more obedient do you thinke the Percians ſhall be vnto you, when they perceyue you to take iuſte warres in hand, and that it was not Beſſus name wherwith ye were offended, but with his faultes and euill doynges. His oration was receyued of the Souldiours with ſuche gladnes, that they ſtreightwayes deſiered him to carye theim whither he woulde. And he that coulde vſe the occaſion of their good mode, paſſed through Parthenia, and came to the boundes of Hircania, leauing Craterus (with the band wherof he had the rule, and ſixe thouſande horſemen, of whom Amintas had the charge, wyth the like nũbre of Archers) to defend Parthenia frõ the incurſion of the barberous naciõs. He appointed Erigonus a ſmal power to attend vpõ his cariages, willyng him to paſſe with theim through the playne countrey, and he hym

No good occaſion woulde be let ſlipp.

Hircania.

Incurſion

ſelfe with his fotemen, and wyth the reſte of his horſemen marched forwardes. C. fiftye furlonges, and encamped in a valeye at the entrey of Hircania. In the ſame place be greate woodes full of highe and thycke trees, and the bottome of the valeye is verye fruitfull, by reaſon of the ſprynges that come forth of the rockes Out of the foote of the mountaynes there riſeth a ryuer called ʒioberis, whiche within thre furlonges of the head is deuided by a rocke, ſtandynge in the middes of the ſtreame, cauſyng the water to go two ſundry wayes Whiche afterwardes commyng againe into one chanell, runneth more violentlye then before, by reaſon of the fall from the rockes. And ſodainelye it ſinketh into the ground, and ſo runneth hidden by the ſpace of .ccc. furlonges, and then commeth forthe againe, as it were out of a newe ſpring, beyng then in breadth .xiii. furlonges, and as it runneth forwardes, draweth more narowe, and falleth into an other ſtreame named Rhydago. The inhabitours of the countrey affirmed that all thinges caſt in where the ſtreame ſunke into the groũd woulde appeare and come out againe at the next iſſue. For the prouyng of whiche concluſion, Alexander cauſed two Bulles to be caſte in, where the water entred, whoſe bodies were founde by ſuche as were appointed for the purpoſe, where the ſtreame brake out againe In this place he refreſhed his armye foure daies, duryng whiche time, Nabarzanes which was confederate with Beſſus in killyng of the king, did wryte letters to him in effect, howe that he was no enemie vnto Darius, but counſailed him euer to do ſuche thinges as he iudged moſt profitable, and for his faithfull counſayle was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about againſt all reaſon to commit the cuſtodye of his perſon

ʒioberis.

Rhydago.

The effecte of Nabarzanes letters, to Alexãder to ſtraungers, condemnyng thereby the fidelitie of his owne nacion, which thei had kept vnſpotted towardes their kynges by the ſpace of .ccxxx. yeares. Wherefore ſeing him ſelfe in that peril and daunger, toke counſel of his preſent neceſſitie. And alledged that it was alwayes admitted lawful for a man to kil ſuch one, whom he knewe to conſpire his death, whiche was an excuſe (he ſaide) wherwith Darius ſatiſfied the people, when he had ſlaine Bagoas. He alledged that nothing was more deare to mortall creatures then life, for the loue wherof he was driuē to this extremitye, in committing an acte which neceſſitie rather compelled him to do, thē his owne diſpoſicion. For in a general calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If he would commaund him to come to his preſence, he ſaid he would not refuſe to do it, for he coulde not feare yͤ ſo great a kyng would violate his promiſe, ſeing one God is not wont to deceyue an other. But if he ſhould ſeme vnworthy to whom he would geue his aſſuraunce, there were many coũtreis for him to fle vnto. For al men hauing vertue in them, counte alwaies that for their coũtrey, where they make their dwellyng place. Alexander made no ſtay to geue him his faith, after ſuche ſorte as the Percians vſed to receiue promyſe: whiche was, ſaufly to come and go. Notwithſtanding he marched in ordre of battaile, ſendyng euer ſcourers before to diſcouer the ground.

Nota.

The light armed were appointed to the voward, the phalanx folowed after, and the baggage behind. For by reaſon the ſame was a warlyke nacion, ⁊ the countrey hard to entre vpō, cauſed the king to loke erneſtly vpō the matter. The ſame valley ſtretcheth out to the Caſpian ſea, the bākes therof reſembling the hornes of the mone before it cōmeth to the ful, the ſea lying betwext them like a great bay. Vpō the left hand the people inhabite that be called Cercetes, which lie open towardes the North, and vpon the other part the Leucoſyrians, Moſſynes, and Chalibes, and the plaines of the Amazones lye towardes the weſt. This ſea whiche ſome call the Caſpian, and ſome the Hyrcanian ſea, beyng more ſweater then eny other, bryngeth forth Serpentes of a wonderfull bygnes, and fyſhes differyng in colour muche from all the reſte. There be diuers of opinion that the lake of Meotis ſhould runne into this ſea, whiche they coniecture of the water, thynking the ſame to receiue his ſweatnes of the lake. Towardes the North the ſea groweth into a flatte ſhore, and putteth forth his waters farre vpon the land, whiche ryſyng highe, make manye meares and plaſhes. And as by certaine courſe of the planets they flowe oute, ſo at certaine time by an ebbe, they returne in agayne, reſtoring the groūd to his former eſtate. Some beleue thoſe waters to be no parcel of the Caſpian ſea, but that thei come out of Jnde, and runne into Hircania, which lieth low in the foreſaid valey. The king being remoued frō that place, marched forwardes .xx. furlonges in a wild deſert waye, where great woodes honge continuallye ouer their heades, and brokes of water and myre gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without eny impedimēt of his enemies, he paſſed thoſe difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey, wherin beſides other vitailes (wherof it did habounde) grewe great plentye of apples, and the grounde was very apt for vynes. There were alſo plenty of a certaine kinde of trees muche like vnto Okes, whoſe leaues were couered with honye, which the inhabitours gather before

the

Cercetes,
Leucoſiriãs
Moſſynes.
Chalybes

The Caſpyan ſea,

Aruas.
Phradates.

Tapurians.

Menape.

Alexander restored
many to their former
estate, geuinge
them more then they
had before them in royall.

Artabazus
yelded to
Alexander.

Artabazus woorde
to Alexander;

the ſunne riſyng, for els the moiſture woulde be dryed vp with the heate. When Alexander had paſſed .xxx. furlonges more forwardes, Phrataphernes mette him, yealdyng both him ſelfe, and ſuch other as fledde away after Darius deathe, whom he receiued gentelye, and came to a towne called Aruas. Thither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringynge with theim Phradates that had the rule of the Tapurians: whoſe frendlye receiuynge and gentle entertainemente was the cauſe that many folowed his example, in committyng theim ſelues to Alexanders mercy. Menape was there made Prince of Hircania, who beyng a baniſhed man in the time of Occhus, came to King Philippe for refuge, and Phradates alſo was reſtored to the office he had before When Alexander was come to the vttermoſt boundes of Hircania. Artabaſus whom we declared to ſhewe him ſelfe alwaye to his maiſter, mette Alexander with Darius kinſmen and children, and with a ſmall bande of Greake ſouldiours. The king at his commyng profered him his hande, becauſe he had bene entertayned before by king Philip, whẽ he was baniſhed bi Occhus but the chiefe cauſe that he accepted him ſo well, was for the continuall fidelitye that he obſerued towardes his prince. He beyng thus gentelye receiued by Alexander, ſaid vnto him: Sir, long maye you floriſhe and reigne in perpetual felicitie. I that reioyce in all other thinges, with one am chiefely greued, that by reaſon of mine olde age, I ſhall not be able long to enioye your goodnes. He was .lxxxv. yeares of age, & brought with him .ix. ſonnes borne of one mother, whom he preſented before the kyng, praiyng God to cõtinue their liues ſo long as their ſeruice might be acceptable vnto him. Alexander was accuſtomed much to walke on fote, but then leſte the olde man might be aſhamed to ride, he goyng on fote, called for horſes for them bot he. When he was encampyd, he ſent for the Greakes that Artabaſus brought. But they made requeſt firſte that he would giue aſſuraunce to the Lacedemonians yͭ were emonges them, or els thei would take aduiſe emonges them ſelues what were beſte to do: The ſame were yͤ Embaſſadours that yͤ Lacedemonians had ſent vnto Darius, which after the battayle, ioyned them ſelues to the Greakes yͭ were in Darius wagies. The Kyng willed thē to leaue al aſſuraunces & cōpoſicions, & cum to receiue ſuch appointment as he wold giue thē. Thei ſtoode long in a ſtay variyng in opinions, but at length thei agreyd ſo to do: Sauing Democrates of Athens which chiefly had euer oppugnyd yͤ ſucceſſ of yͤ Macedons, who diſpairing of pardō ſlewe him ſelfe. But yͤ other, as thei had determined, ſubmitted them ſelues to Alexanders wil, being. x. M. vc. in numbre, beſides. iiii ſcore and. x. of ſuch as were ſent Embaſſadoures vnto, Darius. The more parte of the ſouldiers were diſtrybuted emonges the bandes to fyll vp yͤ nōbres that wanted, & the reſte were ſent home except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to be put in priſon.

Great grace within a kinge.

The Mardens.

Ther was a nacion called Mardōs bounding next to Hircania, rude in their maners & vſages, accuſtumed to lyue by theft: Thei neither ſent Embaſſadours, nor gaue eny ſignificatiō yͭ they woulde be at Alexanders cōmaundement, he toke therat great indignaciō yͭ eny one people ſhould giue impediment to his victory, and therfore leuing a guard for his cariages, went againſt them with a ſtronge powre. He marched forwardes in the night, and by the tyme that the day appeared his enemies were in ſight. But the matter came rather to a lacome then to eny fyght. For the enemies were ſone driuen from the hilles, who flieng awaye, left their villagies to be ſacked by the Macedons. But the armye could not paſſe into the inward partes of the cõtrey without great trouble & vexacion, the ſame being compaſſed about wͭ high mountaynes, great woodes, & deſert rockes, and the partes which were plaine were defended with a ſtraung kind of fortificacion, yͭ is to ſaye with trees ſet thick of purpoſe, yͤ boughes wherof whẽ they were young, were wreathed one wythin an other: The toppes bowed downe were put into the grounde againe frõ whẽce as out of an other rote there ſprong newe braunches. They would not ſuffre the ſame to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knit thẽ ſo one wyth an other, that whẽ thei were ful of leaues, they couered cleane yͤ earth. The trees thus wreathed one wͭ an other, encloſed in the cõtrey as it were wͭ a cõtinual hedge, and were as ſnares to entangle ſuch as would go about to enter. There was no way could be deuiſed to paſſe through yͤ ſame, but only by cutting downe of the woode. And therin they found a greate difficultie and much trauaile by reaſõ yͭ the wreathing & wrapping togither of yͤ boughes kept thẽ of from the bodies of the trees, & the weaknes of yͤ boughes ſo yelded to the ſtrokes, yͭ thei coulde not eaſily be cut a ſonder. The inhabiters of the countrey were accuſtumed to creape emonges the bruſhe like wild beaſtes, and by priuie ſalties breake out vpon their enemies. Alexãder therfore cauſed hys men after yͤ maner of hunters, to ſeke out their lurking places, & killed many of thẽ. But at length he enuironed the woode with hys ſouldiers round about, to thintene thei might breake in at euery

The mardons vſed a ſtraunge kinde of fortyficacion, for the countrey was encloſed wt a mightie hedge enforced to growe againſt nature.

place, whē they ſhould ſpie eny entre. In doing wherof many wandred & loſt their company in places yͭ they knew not, and were taken pryſoners, & emōges them Bucephalus Alexāders horſe, whō he did not eſteame as men do other beaſtes, for he would not ſuffre eny other man to leape vpon hym, and whē the kyng would ride he would kneelle downe vpō his knees to receiue him, ſo that he ſeamed to haue the ſence to vnderſtand whom he caried. Alexander was more ſorowfull and ſturred to a greater wrath for the loſſe of the horſe, thē was expedient for ſuch cauſe, for ſerching about to get the horſe againe, cauſed proclamacion to be made bi an interpreter, that except he were reſtored, he would not leaue one of the countrey men aliue. When thei heard thys terrible threating, emonges other giftes, thei preſented vnto Alexander his horſe. Yet he was not therwyth pacyfied, but commaunded the woodes to be cut downe, and the wayes to be made playne whyche he cutte through the woodes. This worck went ſo wel forward, that the inhabiters diſpayring of habilitie to defend their countrey, yelded them ſelues to the kynge. Who receyuing their pledges, committed them to the keaping of Phradates, and from thence the fifte daye retourned agayne to his campe. There he gaue to Arſabaſus the double honour yͭ Darius did vnto hym & ſent him home againe into his countrey. After that he came to the citie of Hircania, where Darius Palace was. Nabarzanes vpon aſſuraunce came thither, bringing with him great giftes and emonges the reſte preſented vnto Alexāder Bagoas an Enuke of ſingular beauty, beyng in the firſte flowre of youth, whom Darius accuſtomed, and after Alexander at whoſe interceſſion ſpecially he did pardon Nabarzanes. The nacion

Bucephalus Alexanders horſe.

The Amazons.

riō of the Amazōs beyng nere vnto Hircania (as hath ben ſayed before) did inhabite the playnes of Themiſcire about the riuer of Thermodoonta, & had a quene reigning ouer thē called Thaleſtris, which kept vnder her dominion all the countreis betwene the Mount Caucaſus, and the riuer of Phaſis. She for the great affection ſhe had to ſee Alexander, trauailed out of hir owne countrey, and beyng come nere where he was, ſent certain before, to declare that a queane was come of deſire to viſite hym, & to make hir acquaintaunce. Whan libertie was giuen her to come to hys preſence ſhe cauſed all the reſte of hir bande to ſtaye, and ſhee came forwardes accompanied wyth .ccc. women. Aſſone as ſhe perceyued Alexander, ſhe leaped from her horſe caryng two Lances in hir hande. The Amazons apparayle is ſuch that it doth not couer all their bodies, for their breſtes be bare on the lefte ſyde, and their garmentes whyche they vſe to knytte vp wyth a knot, come not to their knees. One breſte thei alwaies reſerue vntouched wherewith they noryſhe theyr woman children, but their ryght breaſtes thei vſe to ſeare, to make them more apt to drawe their bowes, and caſte their dartes. Thaleſtris lokid vpon Alexander with a bould coūtenaunce, & conſideryd in beholding of hym, that his perſonage aunſweryd not to the fame that ſhe had heard of his actes. For the barbarous nacions geue great veneracion to yͤ maieſtie of the perſonage, thynking none to be ſufficient for the doing of great actes, but ſuch as nature haue endued with great perſonagies. It was demaunded of hir, if ſhe had eny requeſt to make vnto Alexander: Whereat ſhe abaſhed not to confeſſe that ſhe was come thether to get chyldren with hym: thinking her ſelfe a perſonage worthy

Thermodoonts.

Phaſis.

Thaleſtrys mette Alexander.

The queene of
the Amazons
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] on =
[illegible].

of whom he, ſhoulde get heires to enherite hys kyngdome, wherin ſhe couenaunted ÿ if it were a womã ſhe would kepe it ſtyll, & if it were a man chylde, ſhe would reſtore it to the father. Alexãder enquired of her, if ſhe would go forwardes with him in his warres but therin ſhe excuſed her ſelfe, that ſhe hadde left no ordre for the defence of her kyngdome. But ſhe continued ſtyl in declaration of the cauſe of her comming, and required that her hope therein myghte not be in uayne. The womans appetite, ſeamed to be more vehemently geuen to luſte then the kynges, was, yet ſhe obtayned of hym to ſtaye for her cauſe, and conſumed thirtene dayes in ſatiſfieng of her deſire. That done ſhe departed to her owne kyngdome, and Alexander wente to Parthenia, whych was the place where he firſt ſhewed manifeſtly the vices that were in hym. There he turned his continencye, and moderacion (being the moſte excellente vertues appearing in eny kynde of eſtate) into pryde and voluptuouſneſſe, not eſteamyng hys countrey cuſtomes, nor the holſome temperaunce that was in the vſagies and diſcipline of the kynges of Macedõ. For he iudged their ciuill vſage and maner to be ouer baſe for his greatnes, but did counterfeit ÿ heyghte and pompe of the kynges of Perce, repreſentyng the greatnes of the Goddes. He was content to ſuffer men there to fall downe flatte vpon the ground, and worſhip him, & accuſtomed the victorours of ſo many nacions, by little & little, to ſeruile offices. coueting to make them lyke vnto hys captiues. He ware vpon his head a Diademe of purple, interpaled wyth white, lyke as Darius was accuſtomed, and faſhioned his apparaile after the maner of the Parciãs without ſcrupuloſitie of eny euill token that it ſigni-

[illegible] woome
[illegible] men to [illegible]
coyte.

Here Alexander firſt forſoke vertue and fell to vice.

Alexander began
first to manni-
fest his vices
at Parthenia.

Inordinat pryde
made Alexander
to thinke he was
rather a god then
a man, wher-
upon he suffe-
red men to do
unto hym suche
worship & honor
as was not
mete for a mortal
creature.

He forsoke his owne countrey garmentes, and fashioned himselfe as a Persian kinge, putinge on him together with the garmente their euell maners and insolencie of the mynde.

fied, for the victorer to chaunge his habite into the faſhion of hym whom he had vaynquiſſhed. And though he aduaunced that he ware the ſpoiles of his enemies, yet wyth thoſe ſpoiles he put vpon him their euell maners, and the inſolenſy of the mynde, folowed the pride of the apparayle. Beſides he ſealed ſuche letters as he ſent into Europe wyth his accuſtomed ſeale, but all the letters he ſente abrode into Aſia, were ſealed wyth Darius rynge. So it appeared that one mynde could not beare the greatnes that appertained to two. He appareyled alſo his frendes, his capitaynes, & hys horſemen in Percian apparell, wherat though they grudged in their myndes, yet they durſte not refuſe it for feare of hys diſpleaſure. Hys court was repleniſſhed wyth concubines, for he ſtil maynteined thre hundred & .lx. that belonged to Darius, & emonges them were flockes of Enukes accuſtomed to perfourme the vſe of women. The old ſouldiers of Philippe naturally abhorryng ſuch thinges, manifeſtly wythſtode to be infected wyth ſuche voluptuouſnes, and ſtraūge cuſtomes. Wherupon there roſe ageneral talke and opiniō throughout ỹ cāpe: that they had loſte more by the victory, then they had wonne by the warre. For when thei ſawe them ſelues ouercome in ſuche exceſſe, & foreine cuſtomes ſo to preuaile emonges them, they iudged it a ſlēder reward of their long being abrode, to returne home in the habite of priſoners. Thei begā to be aſhamed of their king, that was more like to ſuche as were ſubdued, thē to them that were victorious, and that of a kyng of Macedon, was become a prince of Perce, & one of Darius courtiers. When he vnderſtode that the chiefe of hys frendes and his men of warre, were greuouſly offended wyth his doynges, he went about

They that delight in vice, drawe others to their companye, either by intreatie or compulsion.

The souldiers murmured at the disorder of their prince.

to recouer fauour agayne with giftes and liberalitie: but it is to be thought that the rewardes of ſeruitude, be vngratefull to fre men. And therfore leſt this matter myghte turne into a ſedicion, he thought good to breake the imaginaciōs encreaſed by idlenes, with the exerciſe of warre, whereof an apt occaſiō was geuen. For Beſſus inueſting him ſelfe as a kyng, toke vpon hym the name of Artaxerſes, drawing to his parte the Scithians and other that were the inhabiters of the Ryuer of Tanais: whiche thinges were reported to hym by Nabarzanes, whom he had receyued into hys fauour, & geuen the rule of the coūtrey that he had before. When he had determined this new expediciō, he found his army ſo ouercharged and laden with ſpoile & other furnimētes of voluptuouſnes, that they could not ſcarſly moue. Wherfore he commaunded the baggage and ſtuffe of the whole army to be brought together in one place, excepting only ſuch thinges as were very neceſſary. The place was large and playne whether the cartes were brought laden, and when euerye one ſtode wayting and muſing what he woulde commaund them to doe, he cauſed the beaſtes to be remoued firſt out of the way, and then ſet his owne fardels on fyer, and after all the reſte. Whiles theſe thynges were burning the owners were on fyer, to ſee thoſe thinges conſumed, for the ſauing wherof thei had oft quenched yͤ flambes in Cyties of their enemies. Yet no man durſte lament the price of hys owne bloud, ſeing thei ſawe the fyer conſume the kynges ryches as well as their owne, and the rather to pacefie them, the kyng did mytigate their dolour wyth a briefe oracion. Wherupon they that were euer apt for the warres, and redy to doe all thynges, beganne to be ioyfull that

The rewarde of ſeruitude is vngratefull to free men.

Inveſtinge

Beſſus toke vpon him as kynge.

When the commaund[illegible] him ſelfe his & goodes burninge his harte is on a flame, or els his [illegible] could [illegible] fre.

Nicanor.

The dethe of Nycanor, Parmenio hys sonne.

wyth the loſſe of their baggage, thei had preſeruid their diſcipline accuſtomed in the warres. As they were ſettyng forwardes towardes Bactria Nycanor the ſonne of Parmenio died ſodeinly, whome euery man greatly lamented, but chiefely the Kynge was ſo ſorowefull, deſiring to haue ſtayed for the celebracion of hys burial, but that wante of vitayles cauſed hym to haſte forwardes. Philotas therefore was left behind wyth two thouſand ſyx hundred ſouldiers to parfourme the ceremonies appertaining to hys brothers burial, and he hym ſelfe marched towardes Beſſus. In the waye letters were brought to Alexãder frõ the princes ther about, that Beſſus was cõming towardes hym wyth a great army: adding threunto that Satribarzanes whome he had made prince of the Arians, was newely rebelled. For that cauſe, not wythſtandyng he was come nere vnto Beſſus, yet he thought it beſt firſte to oppreſſe Satribarzanes. and for that intente broughte forwardes his horſemen and footemen that were light armed, to inuade hym ſodaynly. Hys comming was not ſo preuye, but Satribarzanes knewe there of and fled into Bactria wyth two thouſand horſemen. For by reaſon he was not abel to aſſemble eny more in ſo ſhorte a tyme, the reſte toke the next mountaynes for their refuge. There was a rock whyche towardes the weſt was hyghe and ſteape, but towardes the eaſt more lowe and eaſye to be clymbed vpon, whiche parte it was ful of tres. The ſame rock being in cõpaſſe .xxxii. furlõges had a foũtayne ronning contynually, & in yͤ top a greane playne, where they placed the weaker multitude, but the reſt that were apt for defence being to the nombre of thirtene thouſand, gotte them ſelues to the

Satribarzanes.

The ſiege of a rocke.

edgies of the rocke and there threwe downe ſtones and logges, the Macedons vpõ that came to aſſayle them. He left Craterus to beſyege thys rocke, and wente in parſon to purſue Satribarzanes. And becauſe he vnderſtode that he was fledde farre of returned back agayne to the ſiege of them that were vpon the rocke fyrſte he cauſed all thynges to be taken awaye, that myght be eny impediment to hys men in the aſſaulte geuing. But when they came to the bare and ſteape rocke the laboure ſemyd waſte, where nature wrought againſte them. But he yͭ was of a diſſpoſicion alwayes to ſtriue agaynſt difficulties, conſideryng howe hard a matter it was to go forwardes, and howe daungerous to returne backe agayne, dyd caſte in hys head all they wayes and deuiſes that could be Imagined, & nowe fainteſied one thyng, & then an other, as men be wont when yͤ wayes haue found out fyrſte do not pleaſe thẽ As he ſtode in a ſtay in doubt what to doe, fortune did miniſter vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reaſon could inuente. It chaunſed that the wynde blewe ſore at the ſouth weſt, what time the ſouldiers had felled great plenty of wood, wherof thei thought to make ſcaffoldes to mounte vp againſt the rocke & the heate of the ſonne had made the ſame dry. When Alexander perceiued the wynd to blowe after that ſorte, and the woode lieng in that place, cõceiued by and by hys purpoſe, and willed more trees to be cut downe, & laid vpõ them, putting all other thinges to it, that were apt to kyndle and noriſhe fier: So that trees heaped vpon trees, be came as it were a mountaine, ſo hyghe as the top of the rocke. The ſame being ſet a fire in al partes at once, the wynde caried the flambe into the face of

Artacnan.

their enemies, & the ſmoke couered ouer the ſky. The noiſe was thẽ great that the fier made, which burned not only yͤ trees that were fired of purpoſe, but alſo the reſte of the woode growing nere there a bout. The enemies were ſo tormented with the flambe & heate of the fire. that they were enforced to forſake their place of ſtrength, & attempted to eſcape away where the fyer gaue them leſt impediment. But where the fier gaue place, the Macedons ſtode in redines to receyue them, ſo that they were conſumed & ſlayne, diuers kynde of wayes. Some threwe them ſelues downe the rockes, ſome ran into the middes of yͤ fier, other fell into their enemies hãdes, and a fewe, halfe conſumed wyth fier were takẽ priſoners. Whẽ Alexãder had done this act, he returned to Craterꝰ, which beſieged Artacnan who hauing prepared all thinges in redines, taried only for the kinges cõming, to gyue him the honour of the winning of the Cytie. When Alexander was come, he approched the walles with yͤ towres of timber that he had prepared for the aſſaulte, at the ſyght wherof the inhabitauntes were ſo afrayed, that they held vp their handes from the walles, requiring him to ſpare them, and execute his wrath vpon Satribarzanes that was the aucthour of their rebellion. Alexander pardoned them freely, and not onely leuied hys ſiege, but alſo reſtored to the inhabitauntes, al thynges that pertained to thẽ. As he remoued from thys Cytie, there came vnto him a newe ſupplye of ſouldiers. Zoylus broughte out of Greace fyue hundred horſemen, and thre. M. which Antipater ſent out of Illiria. There came a hundred & thirty Teſſalian horſemẽ wͭ Philip, who alſo brought of ſouldiers ſtrãgers out of Lidia, two. M. fiue hundred footemen and .iii. hundred horſemen. Alexander hauing thus encreaſyd hys power, entryd into the countrey of the Drangans. whiche were a warlyke nacion, and vnder the gouernement of Nabarzanes, who beyng of counſell with Beſſus in the treaſon that he committed againſt his prince, when he hearde of Alexanders commyng, for feare of the puniſhemente he hadde deſerued, fledde into India. Thus hadde they lyen in campe nyne dayes, when Alexander being without feare of eny enemy, and inuincible againſte all foreyn powres, was brought in perill by treaſon of hys own people. It chaūſed that one Dymnus a mā of meane behauour and aucthoritie with his prince, was greatly enflamyd in the loue of a young man called Nicomachus, with whō he vſed much familier cōuerſatiō. This Dimnus on a tyme beyng in a paſſion (as it wel appeared by hys countenaunce) allured this yong man into a Temple, where remaynyng alone togethers declared that he had certain ſecreates to ſhewe him, whiche in no wiſe were to be reported againe. Thereby he brought Nycomachus in great ſuſpection, what the matter ſhoulde be: For before he would tell him, he made a proteſtation by the loue & familiaritie betwixte thē, that he would aſſare him by his oth to kepe yͤ thing ſecrete: who ſuppoſinge the matter to be of no ſuche weighte, that he ought with periurie and breakynge of his othe to diſcloſe the ſame againe, ſware by the goddes there preſente. Then Dymnus openyd vnto him howe there was a treaſon conſpired againſt the kinge, whiche within thre dayes ſhoulde be put in execution, wherof (he ſaied) he him ſelfe was priuie with diuers men of nobylitie and eſtimation. When Nicomachus did heare it to be ſuche a matter, conſtauntlye denied

then

Drangans

A treaſō cō=
ſpired agai=
nſt Alexand

rather vnbegunne
then vnstable promise
some tymes innocente
Dimnus. are taken
awaie that de=
serve not to die.

Nychoms.
c.s.

then yͭ his promiſe extēdyd to conſaile treaſon, whervnto no othe nor religion coulde bynde a man. When Dymnus hearde him ſaye ſo, he became in a rage betwixte loue and feare, and claſped the young mā bi the hand, requiring him with weping eyes, that he would not ſtycke to be a partaker in the execution of this cōſpiracye: or at the leaſte, if hys harte woulde not ſerue him, that he woulde kepe hys counſayle ſecrete, in reſpecte that he had founde ſuche proufe of loue in hym, to commit his life into hys hādes without eny further proufe of his fidelitie. But in concluſion when he perceiued that Nicomachus woulde in no wiſe agree to his purpoſe, but manifeſtly abhorred the acte, he vſed diuers meanes to bring him to hys entente, one while entreating him with fayre wordes, and an other while threatenynge to kyll him. He called him cowarde and traitour to hys frende, commendyng the goodlines of the enterprice, and putte hym in hope of greate prefermentes, in that he ſhoulde be parttener of gthe kyndome they went about to get. When he had proued al theſe wayes, and yet founde hym ſtraunge, he thruſte hys ſworde one while to Nicomachus throte, and another while to his owne, ſo that at length by threatning and faire ſpeakyng, he brought him to promiſe, both to kepe hys counſaile ſecreate, and alſo to be aſſiſtaunt to the dede doyng. yet neuertheleſſe as one of a conſtaūt mynde (though for the tyme preſente he ſeamed to be wonne wyth the loue of hys frende, & become agreable to his requeſtes) chaunged no parte of his former purpoſe. This done: Nicomachus required to know what the men were, that hadde confederated them ſelues in ſo weyghtie a matter, becauſe the perſonnes (he ſaied) were muche materiall that ſhoulde take ſoo greate an enterprice in hand. Then Dimnus though he were in great trouble of minde yͭ he had brought the matter ſo farre forth, yet when he hearde him aſke yͤ queſtion, reioyſed, and thanked hym greatlye, that he would ſo frely aſſociate hym ſelfe wyth ſuche maner of men, as Demetrius of the preuie chãbre was, Peculaus, Nichanor. Aphobetus. Loceus, Dioſenus, Archelopis, and Amintas This cõmunication once ended betwixt thẽ Nicomachus departed, & diſcloſed al yͤ matter whych he hadde hearde before, to a brother of hys called Ceballinus: agreyng betwixt them two, yͭ Nicomachus ſhoulde remaine ſtyll ſecreate in hys tent, leaſt by hys commyng to the kynges lodgynge, not vſing to haue acceſſe vnto the kynge, the conſpiratours myght perceyue them ſelues bewrayed. Ceballinus repaired to the kynges lodginge, and taried before yͤ gate, waiting for ſome mã nere about the kynge, to bring him to hys preſence. It fortuned that emõgeſt manie which paſſed by, only Philotas the ſonne of Parmenio, demaundyd why he waited there. To whom Ceballinus wyth a baſhed cõtenaunce (wel declaring the vnquietnes of his minde) reported all thoſe thinges whiche he hadde hearde of his brother, requiring him yͭ he would declare the ſame immediatly vnto the king. Philotas departed frõ him vnto the king, wͭ whõ that day he hadde much communication of other thinges, and yet openyd no parte of the ſame matter which was tolde him by Ceballinus. At nyght as Philotas came forthe, Ceballinus met hym at the court gate, and enquired whether he hadde done his meſſage to the kynge or not. He excuſed the matter, that he could find hym at no leaſure The nexte day Ceballinus mette him againe goynge to the

Ceballinus

Philotas.

The treaſõ diſcloſed.

to the kyng and put hym in remembraunce of that he hadde tolde him before, to whom he aunſwered that he remẽbred it wel but yet for al that, he diſcloſed no part of the matter. Ceballinus began then to ſuſpecte him, and intended no lenger to defer the thynge, but opened the ſame to one Metron maiſter of the kynges armorye: who immediatlye conueyed Ceballinus into the armorye, and wente ſtreyght to the kynge whyche was bathyng, and enfourmed hym of all that he hadde hearde. Alexander then made no delaye, but ſente certeine of his guarde to take Dymnus, and after came hym ſelfe into ẏ armorye. Aſſone as Ceballinus ſawe the king, he ranne to him with greate reioyſynge, and ſayd: loe, I haue preſerued the from the hãdes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all the circumſtaunces, and he agayne aunſwering to euerye poynte in order. The kynge was earneſte to knowe howe long it was ſence Nicomachus had geuen hym this information & he cõfeſſed that it was thre dayes. Wherupon the kinge conſidering that he coulde not with truth haue conceiled this matter ſo longe, commaunded that he ſhoulde be put in ward. Then cried he out, & declared howe ẏ at the ſame inſtaunt he newe of the conſpiracy firſte, he opened it to Philotas, of whõ (he ſated) he might enquere the trueth. Therupõ it was demaunded of hym, whether he hadde required Philotas to be broughte to the kynges preſence or no. Whyche thynge when the king by his confeſſion perceiued to be true, and that he did ſtifly abide bi his firſt tale, he lifted vp his handes to heauen, the teares fallynge from his eyes, greatlye complaynynge that Philotas ſhoulde requite him with ſuche vntruthe, whom he moſte aſſuredly truſted. Dymnus in the meane ſeaſon

Treason at length bringethe forthe
to the distruction
of the inventore.

ſon knowynge for what cauſe he was ſente for, wounded him ſelfe to death, but it ſome what letted by thẽ that were ſente to take him, was broughte before the kynge, whom as ſone as he behelde, ſayed vnto him: Dymnus, what haue I offended the, that thou ſhouldeſt thinke Philotas more worthy to be kynge of Macedon then I. At which wordes Dimnus became ſpeacheles and caſtynge forthe a greate ſighe, turned his face from the kynges ſight, and fel downe deade. The kyng called Philotas before him, and ſayde: thys mā whom thou here ſeeſt ſhoulde haue ſuffered death if it coulde haue bene proued that he hadde conceiled two dayes, the treaſon prepenſed againſte me.

The kinges wordes to Philotas.

Prepensed.

With the which matter he chargeth ẏ Philotas, to whō (as he ſayth) he gaue knowledge immediatly: the more nere thou art about me, ſo muche more greater is thy offence, and the fault hadde bene more tollerable in hym then in the. Howbeit thou haſte a fauorable iudge, for if there be eny thyng that cannot be excuſed, yet at the leſte it maye be pardoned. To thys Philotas nothyng abaſhed (if the hart maye be iudged by the coūtenaunce) made aunſwere, that Ciballinus broughte hym a tale, the reporter wherof was ouer lyght of credit to be beleued, and that he feared leſte by the preſentyng of ſuche a matter whyche did ryſe vpon brabling betwixt two parſōes of euill deſpoſiciō he might haue bene laughte to ſcorne: But afterwardes when he once knewe that Dymnus had ſlayne him ſelfe, he was clearelye then reſolued no longer to haue prolonged ẏ thing. And ſo falling downe before the kyng, beſought him that he would rather haue reſpect to his life paſte, then to his fault whiche was only a conſealment, and no act done. It is hard to ſay, whether the kyng beleued,

Philotas aunſwere.

ued hym or grounded his diſpleaſure more deapely in hys harte, neuertheles in token of pardon, gaue hym his hand, ſaiynge: howe it appeared that thaccuſacion was rather miſcredited by him. then conſealed of malice. Alexander called a coũſell. Not withſtãding he called hys counſaile together emonges whom Philotas was not admitted, but Nicomachus was brought in before them, where he declared all ſuche matters as he before hadde ſhewed to the kyng. There was one Craterus in ſpeciall fauour with Alexander which for the enuie he had to Philotas aduauncement, bare him alwayes grudge: Who knew very wel that the king had often bene diſpleaſed with Philotas, for the ouermuche auauncing of hys good ſeruice and valyaunt actes: but yet for al that in thoſe matters he was not ſuſpected of treaſon but onelye noted of preſumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that he could not haue a better occaſiõ to oppreſſe his enemy, by colouring his priuate hatred with a pretence of duetye towardes his Prince. Craterus wordes. Woulde God (quod he) ye had taken our counſaile in the beginning of this matter: for if ye woulde nedes haue pardoned him, ye ſhould haue kept frõ his knowledg howe much he was in your daunger rather then to haue brought him in feare of hys life wherby ye ſhal make him more myndful of hys owne perell, then of your goodneſſe. For he maie alwayes ymagin your death, but you ſhal not be alwayes in caſe to pardõ him. Let it neuer ſink in your hart, ỷ he whiche purpoſed ſo haynous a treaſon woulde chaunge hys purpoſe for the beneuolence of a pardon, you knowe well that ſuch as offende are often in deſpayre of mercy. And though he perchaũce either with repentaunce of his faulte, or remẽbraũce of your goodnes woulde chaunce his minde, yet I am ſure that his father Parmenio, general capitaine of ſo great an armie, and of ſo grounded aucthoritie emongeſt your ſouldiours (that is wyth theym in maner as your ſelfe) woulde be euyll content to be in youre debt for his ſonnes lyfe. There be certaine benefites hatefull to men and it is ſhame to confeſſe to haue deſerued death. Therefore I conclude, that he had rather it ſhould be thought you had done hym wronge, thẽ that ye had geuen him his life. I can not ſee therefore, but you ſhal be enforced to deſtroye theim for youre owne ſuertie. There be enemies inoughe remayninge yet unconquered, agaynſt whom we be goyng: make your ſelfe ſure from your foes at home, ſo ſhall ye haue leſſe nede to feare your enemies abroade. Theſe were Craterus wordes and the reſidue of the counſaile were of opinion, that Philotas woulde neuer haue concealed this conſpiracye, excepte he had bene eyther pryncipall or priuy thereunto. For they thought there was no true man, or of honeſt hart, though he had bene none of the kynges familiers but one of his meane ſeruauntes, hearinge ſo muche as Phylotas hearde, but woulde forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he beynge the ſonne of Parmenio, the maſter of the kynges horſe, & of his priuy cou̅ſaile did not ſo much as the ſtraunger which ſtraightwaies made relaciõ of that his brother had told him. And where as he pretended that ẏ kynge was at no leaſure, that they iudged to be done to thentent the accuſer ſhoulde not ſeke any other to whome he might utter it. Wher as Nicomachus albeit he was bounde by his othe to the cõtrary: yet woulde he neuer reſt till he had dyſcharged his conſcience. But Philotas when he cõſumed in maner the whole day in ſport and paſtime with the kynge, coulde not finde in his

The opiniõ of the cou̅ſaile

Relation

harte to caſte forthe a fewe wordes,ſpeciallye in a matter ſo much concernyng the kynges ſafeguarde. But admit(quod they)he had geuē no credite to the matter through the lightnes of the reporter, why ſhoulde he haue differred the accuſer.ii.dayes,as thoughe he had beleued it. For if he had miſliked ẏ tale.he myght haue diſmiſſed the partye. It was alſo alledged that euerye mans mynde muche miſgeueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne ieopardye. Muche more oughte men to be credulous when it touched the ſuertie of a kynges perſon,in whiche caſe it oughte to be examined though it be of ſmale weight. Thei al therfore determined that Philotas ſhould be enforced to diſcloſe ẏ parteners of the conſpiracie. The king cōmaundinge thē to kepe the matter ſecrete,departed, and to the entente no inglynge ſhoulde appeare of this newe counſaile, he cauſed it to be proclaimed that the armie ſhould ſet forwardes the next daye. The ſame nyght the Kynge called Philotas to a bancquet,wyth whom he vouchſafed not onely to eate: but alſo familiarlye to commen, notwithſtandinge he hadde before in the counſaile determined his death. After in the ſecond watche of the night,Epheſtion,Craterus,and Erigonus which were of the Kynges counſaile,came priuelye into the courte without lyghte,and of the eſquiers,there came Perdicas,and Leonatus, by whome commaundement was geuen,that all ſuche as laye neare the Kynges lodging ſhoulde watche in harneys. By this tyme ſouldiours were appoynted to al the paſſages,and horſemen were ſent to kepe the wayes,that no man ſhoulde paſſe priuely to Parmenio,which then was gouernour of Media wyth a greate power. Then Attaras came into the courte wyth.ccc.armed men, vnto whome there were

appointed

Credulous.

Inklinge

Inglinge

appointed ten of thoſe that had the charge of yͤ kynges ꝑſon euerye one of thē accompanied wͭ ten Eſquiers, which were ſorted into diuers companies to take the other conſpiratours. But Attaras wyth hys. ccc. was ſente to Philotas lodgynge, where wyth fyftye of the hardieſt brake vp his chambre dore that was ſhutte agaynſt them. The reſidue were commaunded to beſet the houſe, leaſt he myghte eſcape by ſome ſecrete waye. Philotas, whether it were throughe the ſuertye of hys owne conſcience, or throughe wearineſſe of ſuche trauayle of mynde, was in ſo profounde and deade ſleape, that Attaras brake in vpon him before he wyſte. But at length when he was awaked and come to hym ſelfe, perceyuynge them aboute to bynde hym: he exclamed and ſaied: O Alexandre, the malice of mine enemies haue preuailed aboue thy mercye. Speakynge theſe wordes, they couered his face, & broughte hym into the courte. The nexte daye the kynge gaue commaundement that certayne of the men of warre ſhould aſſemble in harneys to the numbre of. vi. M. beſydes ſlaues and raſcalles that filled full the courte, whiche beynge aſſembled together, the guarde compaſſed in Philotas with their band, to the entente he ſhoulde not be eſpied of the people, vntil ſuch time as the king might ſpeake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons the kynges in their owne perſons were wonte to enquire in matters of treaſō, yet could not yͤ kynges auctoritie preuaile to condempnacion, excepte it were confyrmed by the conſente of the men of warre. Therefore the bodye of Dimnus was firſt broughte into the place (the moſte parte vnknowynge what he had done, or by what chaunce he was ſlaine.) Then came the Kynge

Philotas taken.

forth to ſpeake vnto the multitude, whiche in his countenaunce declared the dolour of his hart, and the ſadneſſe of ſuch as were nere about him, cauſed vnto the reſt greate expectacion of the matter. He did caſte his eyes towardes the earth, and ſtode longe aſtonied ⁊ in a muſe, but at length he plucked vp his ſpirits, ⁊ ſpake vnto them on this wiſe. By the treaſon of ſome men I was al moſt taken from you, but through the mercye and prouidence of the gods, I am yet preſerued. Your honourable preſence dothe conſtreine me more vehemently to be moued againſt thoſe traitours. Becauſe the onelye comforte and fruite of my lyfe is, that I remayne to geue thankes to ſo many noble mē, to whom I am ſo much bounden. With ſpeakyng of theſe wordes the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale and the teares did fall from their eies. Then the king began agayne hys tale. Howe muche more wyll you be moued when I ſhal ſhewe you the authours of ſo horrible a treaſon, the reherſall of whome I yet refraine, as one very loth to diſcouer theyr names. But I muſt ouercome the memory of my former fauoure, ⁊ vtter ẏ conſpiracy of my vnnatural people, for how is it poſſible for me to hide ſo greate a treaſon. Parmenio a man of that age ſo depely in my det, throughe the moſt ample benefites both of me and my father, and whome I moſt eſtemed of al my frendes, is the captaine and cōtriuer of al this miſchiefe. His miniſter Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, and this Dymnus (whoſe body here you ſe) with other parteners of theyr fury to my deſtruction. When he came to ẏ point, there roſe throughout ẏ multitude a great charme of a murmur and complaint, ſuch as is wont to be emonges a numbre, and ſpecially of men of warre, when they are

moued

The Oratiō of Alexandre againſte Philotas.

They that be in most fauour wth the prince, and moste highe in authoritie, haue ofte tymes soden downfalles.

moued either wᵗ affection, or diſpleaſure. With ỹ Nichomacus, Metron, & Cyballinus were brought forth, euery one of thē geuing in euidence that they had ſpoken afore. It appeared it not by eny mans tale ỹ Philotas was preuie to that cōſpiracie. But at the laſt whē the noyſe was ceſſed, & the witneſſes had ſaide al they could, the king proceded in this wiſe. Of what maner mynd thinke you was this man whyche hearinge the whole report, could find in his hart to conſeale the matter the trueth whereof is well declared by the death of Dimnus. Cyballinus that reported an vncertayne tale, for the trial thereof was afraied of no tormentes, & neuer delaied the moment of time, vntill he had dyſcharged him ſelfe, inſomuch that he brake into ỹ place where I was bathynge, but Philotas onely feared nothing, he beleued nothing. O how gret a hart had this man, which hauinge knowledge of the daunger of hys king, did neuer chaunge countenance, neither take ſo much paine as to heare out the tale of thaccuſer: but in this ſilence and conſealement there is treaſon hiddē, and the gredy deſire he had to reigne, did driue him hed long to attempt extreme miſchief. His father is gouernour of Media, and beareth ſuch a ſtroke emonges the capitaines and men of warre thorowe myne aucthoritie, that he hopeth for a great deale more then he hath. And becauſe I am without children he eſteameth me not. But Philotas is deceiued. I haue children, frendes, and kinſfolke emonges you. So longe as you be in ſauegarde, I ſhal not reckē myſelfe without heires: Then did he reſite a letter that was taken, whych Parmenio had written to hys ſonnes Nicanour, and Philotas, wherein there appeared no greate preufe of eny A letter. greater treaſō intended, Theffect was this, Firſt take

good

good hede to your ſelues, and then to thoſe that long to you, ſo ſhal we bring to paſſe that we haue purpoſed. Whiche letter the king enforced, ſaying: it was written after ſuche a maner, that if it came to his ſonnes handes it might be perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it ſhould deceiue them that knewe it not. Then proceded he: nowe wyll Philotas perhappes ſay, that when Dymnus named all that were partakers of his conſpiracye, he named not him: as for that it is no proufe of his innocēcy, but a token of his power and aucthoritye, becauſe he was ſpared of them that might beſt bewray him, which confeſſinge of them ſelues, durſte not yet ſpeake of hym. But what maner mā he hath bene, his lyfe doth ſhew. He was felowe and companion to Amintas my kinſman, whiche conſpired highe treaſon agaynſte my perſone in Macedon. He gaue hys ſyſter in mariage to Attalus, then whome I had neuer greater enemye. When by reaſon of olde frendſhip and familiaritye I wrote to hym of the title geuen to me by the oracle of Jupiter Hāmon, he did not ſticke to anſwere: that he was very glade that I was admitted into the numbre of Goddes, howebeit verye ſorye for thoſe that ſhould liue vnder ſuche one, as woulde exceade the ſtate of a man. Theſe were playne tokens that hys harte was turned from me, and that he ſpited my glory. Whyche I kept cloſe in my harte, ſo longe as I myghte. For I thought my bowels pulled from me, if I ſhoulde make a little ſtore of them, for whome I had done ſo muche. But now it is not their wordes that muſt be puniſhed, for the raſhnes of their tongues is turned to ſwordes, whyche (beleue me) Philotas hath whetted to my deſtruction. Whom if I ſhould ſuffer to eſcape, alas my

Ther is nothinge so well ment, or well spoken, but it maie be misconstrued and evill taken.

parmenio spake constantlie, wh alexander toke in the worse parte.

ſouldiers whether ſhoulde I go? to whome ſhoulde I commit my perſon? He was the man that I made generall of my horſemen, of the greateſt parte of myne army, & of all the noble young gentlemẽ. To his trouth & fidelitie haue I committed my ſaueguarde, my truſt, & victory. His father did I preferre vnto the ſame eſtate, whereunto you aduaunced me. Media then whyche there is not a richer countrey, wyth many thouſandes of your frendes and felowes I haue put vnder his gouernaunce, and aucthoritie. Where I truſted of moſte ſuertye, there found I moſt perill. Howe muche more happy had I bene to haue died in battayle, and rather ſlayne of myne enemies, then thus betraied of my ſubiectes. For nowe being ſaued from the daungers that I moſt feared, I haue fallen into thoſe that I oughte to haue doubted leſt. You haue bene wont often times to warne me that I ſhuld regard my ſuertie. It is not that maye make me ſure of that ẏ you counſel me. To your handes & to your ſuccour I fle. I would not lyue though I myght againſt your wylles, and thoughe you would yet can I not, except I be deliuered from theſe my enemies. Hereupon Philotas was broughte forth in an olde garment, his hãdes bound behind his back. It well appeared howe muche thys miſerable ſyghte moued them, whych late before enuied him. The daye before they ſawe him generall of the horſemen, they knewe that he was at ſupper wyth the king, & ſodainely they ſaw him both priſoner bounde like a thefe, and alſo condempned to die. So did it pitie their hartes to conſider how Parmenio ſo noble a man ſo great a capitaine, which late hauinge loſt two of his ſonnes, Hector, and Nicanor, ſhoulde be put to aunſwere abſente wyth the thyrde ſonne, whom euell fortune hadde lefte hym. The multitude beyng thus enclined to pitye. A-

Amintas tayle.

mintas one of the kings officers, with a cruel tale ſet thē al againſt the priſoner: we be al (qd he) betraied to the barbarous nacions, none of vs ſhall returne home to hys countrey, wife, nor frēdes, but as a maimed body without an heade, without honoure, without fame, in a ſtraunge countrey, ſhalbe a mocking ſtock to our enemies. His tale was nothing pleaſaūt to ẏ king, becauſe he put the ſouldiers in the remēbraūce of their wifes & coūtrey, wherby he thought they wold be the leſſe willinge to go forwardes in his warres. There was one Cenus whych though he had maried the ſyſter of Philotas, yet did he more extremely enuye agaynſt him thē any other, calling hym traitour againſt his king, to his countrey, & to the whole army. And therupon toke vp a ſtone that by chaunce laye at his feete, to haue caſt at Philotas, which he dyd (as ſome thought) to the end he myght rid him from racking. But the king kept backe his hand, and ſayd that the priſoner ſhould haue liberte to ſpeake for hym ſelfe, and would not ſuffer hym to be condempned otherwyſe. Then Philotas being admitted to ſpeake, were it throughe the conſcience of his offence, or through the greatnes of his peril, as a mā aſtonied, and beſides him ſelfe, durſte neither looke vp nor ſpeake, but burſt out into teares. Wherupon hys hart fainted, and he ſowned down vpon thoſe that led him. But afterwardes when he had wiped hys eyes, and by little and little recouered his harte and tonge, he made countenaunce to ſpeake. Then the king beheld him in the face and ſaide: The Macedons ſhalbe thy iudges. I would knowe therefore, whyther thou wylte ſpeake vnto them in thy countrey language, or not: to whome Philotas aunſwered: There be diuers nacions here beſides the Macedons, which as I truſt ſhall perceiue

Cenus.

my

The anſwere of Philotas.

my wordes the better, If I vſe ỹ ſame language that you did, bicauſe the more might vnderſtand your tale. Then ſaied the kinge marke howe this man hath his owne coũtrey tonge in hatred. For there is none but he that wyll diſdayne to ſpeake it, but let him ſay what he wil, ſo longe as you remembre, that he not only diſdayneth our cuſtumes but alſo our language. And with ỹ word the kyng departed from thaſſemble. Then ſaied Philotas. It is eaſy for an innocent to find wordes to ſpeake, but it is very hard for a mã in miſery to keape a temperaunce in his tale. Thus ſtanding betwyxt a cleare cõſcience & moſt vnhappie fortune, I know not in what wiſe I ſhall ſatiſfie my ſelfe, & the time both togither. For he ỹ might beſte haue iudged my cauſe is gone, what ỹ cauſe is he would not heare me, I cannot wel imagen, ſith vpon ỹ matter heard, it lieth only in his hãdes both to diſcharg, & cõdempne me. For the matter not heard, he can not acquite me being abſent, ſince he cõdempned me whẽ he was here preſent. But notwithſtandyng the defence of a priſoner is not only ſuperfluous, but alſo hateful, which ſemeth not to enforme, but to reproue ỹ iudge: yet wil I not forſake my ſelfe, nor ſo do, that I ſhal ſeame cõdempned by mine owne defaulte. I ſee not of what treaſon I ſhould be gilty, emong the cõſpiratours no man named me. Nichomacus ſaied nothing of me. Cyballinus could not tel more of me then he heard. And yet doth the king beleue that I ſhould be head of this conſpiracye. Was it poſſible that Dymnus ſhould forget to name him that was cheife? or is it likely ỹ he would haue ouerſlipped me, whẽ the names of ỹ conſpiratours were demaunded of him? he would rather haue named me falſely to alure the young man the ſoner to his opinion. yet whẽ he tolde the matter priuely to Nichomacus, whō he beleued verely would haue kept it ſecrete ; namyng hym ſelfe and all the reſt, of me onely he made no mencion: wherin it can not be gathered that he omitted me, for becauſe he woulde haue ſpared me. I pray you my felowes, if no man had come to me, nor geuen me knowlege of the matter, ſhould I this daye haue bene put to anſwere, whē no man could haue accuſed me? But be it that Dymnus were aliue & would ſpare me, what thinke ye by the other? would they cōfeſſe of thē ſelues, & forbeare me? aduerſitie is ſubiecte to many miſeries. An offender whē he is puniſhed him ſelfe, vſeth not to kepe ſilence to ſpare another man. Cōmonlye he that goeth to death wyl ſpare no mā, nor no mā wil ſpare him that is ready to dye, & yet ſo many as be gilty and put to tormentes, wil there none confeſſe the trueth? But now I muſt anſwere to the poynt ẏ was offence, if there were eny. Why did I conceale treaſon? why did I heare it with ſo ſmal reguard? this fault, if it were a fault, thou haſt pardoned me (O Alexander) whereſoeuer thou art by geuyng me thy hand, & biddyng me to thy banquet in token of atonemēt. If you did beleue me, I am clere If you forgaue me, I am quite. Stande at the leaſt to your owne iudgement. Alas what haue I done ſence this laſt nyght I went from your bourde? What new reporte hath chaunged your mynde? I reaſted in a ſounde ſleape, when myne enemies by their bindyng waked me, that was ſleapyng in myne owne miſfortune? Offendours when they can not ſleape throughe their vnquiet cōſcience are wonte to be vexed with rages, not onely when their miſchiefe is intended, but alſo when it is ended. But this quietnes came vnto me firſte through myne owne innocencye, and then by the

Adversitie is sub=
iecte to manye
miseries.

kinges pardõ. I feared not that others cruelty ſhould take more place, then his mercye. But leaſt he ſhoulde forthynke that beleued me, ye ſhall vnderſtande that the matter was firſt ſhewed me by a light felowe, who coulde not bring eny witnes or warrante of his tale, whiche if I had diſcloſed, ſhoulde haue put many men to trouble. O vnhappy manne, I thought mine eares had bene ſeduced with the brabblementes of two buggerers, & I ſuſpected the trothe of the partye, becauſe he did not vtter the matter him ſelfe, but procured his brother to do it. I was in feare that the one ſhoulde haue denied that euer he ſhewed eny ſuche matter to the other, and then ſhoulde I haue ſeamed to procure muche trouble to manye of the kinges frendes. So that where I offended none, I haue found ſome more deſirous to procure my deathe, then to ſaue my life. What hatred ſuppoſe ye ſhould I haue gotten if I had accuſed innocẽtes? But Dymnus ſlew him ſelfe, could I therfore diuine afore that he would ſo do? no ſurely. Thus his death beyng the thing that only tried the accuſation true, could not moue me to vtter it, beyng preuẽted by an other. And if I had bene cõſpiratour with Dymnus of ſo greate a treaſon: It is not like that I would haue diſſimuled by the ſpace of two dayes after it was diſcouered? As for Ceballinus, it had bene ſmal maſtery to haue diſpatched him out of the waye. After the thing diſcloſed, wherfore ſhould I haue delaied the matter? I entred into the kinges chambre alone, hauing weapon about me, why deferred I my purpoſe? durſte I not attempt it without Dymnus? No perchaunce ye will ſaye, becauſe he was the chiefe conſpiratour. How then ſtandeth it together, that I ſhoulde be his vnderling which did couet to be king of Macedon? whiche of you al haue bene corrupt of me with bribes, what captaine, what officer, haue I made of aboue other? It is layed to my charge that I abhorre the ſpeakynge of my coũtrey language, and that I diſdaine the maners of the Macedons. What? dooe I deſpiſe the kyngdome that I couet? Ye knowe well that oure naturall toungue throughe the conuerſation of ſtraunge nacions is gone out of vre, as well we that be victorours, as they that be ſubdued muſt learne a newe language. But ſurelye theſe thinges make no more againſt me, then did the treaſon that Amintas the ſonne of Perdicas intended againſt the Kynge. Wyth him I had frendeſhippe I will not denye, except ye will make it a thing vnlawful to loue the kinges brother. But ſithẽce it was our dutye to honour a man called to that degre of fortune, I beſeche you am I giltye becauſe I could not geſſe before that he would offend? Is the lawe ſuch that the frendes of offenders muſt ſuffer beyng innocentes? If that be reaſon, why liue I ſo long? if it be no reaſon, why am I cõdempned to dye? But thẽ I wrote that I had pity of thẽ that ſhould liue vnder ſuch a one as beleued him ſelfe to be the ſõne of Iupiter. O faithful frendſhip & daungerous libertie of true counſaile, ẏ deceiued me that compelled me not to hide ẏ I thought. I confeſſe that I wrote ſo to the Kinge, but not of the Kyng. I did it not for ſpite, but for my duties ſake. I thought it more mete for Alexander to haue knowleged the kinred of Iupiter wyth ſilence, then to haue made aduaunte therof with vaine boaſtyng. But forbecauſe the truth of gods Oracle is certaine, let God be witnes in my cauſe. Retaine me in priſon tyll ye may know Iupiters aunſwere cõcerning this conſpiracie. And in the meane ſeaſon he that hath vouchſaued our kyng to be his ſonne, will ſuffer none of thē that haue conſpired agaynſt his offſpring, to be vnknowen. If you ſuppoſe tormentes more certayne then Oracles, I wyll not deſire to be ſaued from them in triall of the trueth. There is an olde vſage that ſuche as be put to aunſwere vpon life and death, are wont to bryng their parentes and kinſfolkes before you. Two brothers of late haue I loſte, my Father neyther can I brynge forth nor dare call for, bicauſe he is accuſed of this treaſone likewyſe. Is it a ſmall thing for him that was the father of many childrē, and hauyng but one ſonne left in whom to take pleaſure, not onelye to loſe him, but alſo to loſe his owne lyfe with him? Therefore my moſt deare father ſhalt thou die for me, and wͭ me it is I that take thy lyfe from thee. It is I that ende thyne olde dayes. Why diddeſt thou beget me vnhappy wretche in hatred of the gods? to take ſuch fruite by me, as is prepared for the. I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy, or thy age. For I in the very floure of myne yeres am weded vp, & the executioner ſhal bereaue the thy lyfe: whiche if fortune would haue ſuffred to continue, yet nature would haue aſked it or it had ben long The remembraūce of my father doth put me in minde, how loth and timerous I ought to haue bene to the reporte of tales. For whē my father was enfourmed that Philip the phiſician had prepared poiſon for Alexandre, he wrote a letter to warne the kyng, that he ſhould not receiue the medicine, which his Phiſiciō had prepared: was my father beleued? was his letter of eny aucthoritie? I my ſelfe when I haue reported ſuch thinges as I hearde, how oftē haue I bene ſhakē of with a checke for my light beliefe, So yͭ when we tell thinges we are hated, & whē we hold our peace we are ſuſpected: what

would

Belons euidēce.

would you haue vs do? Then one of the company that ſtode by, cryed out, ẏ none ought to be traytours to thē which put them in truſt. Thou ſaieſt wel (qd Philotas) whoſoeuer thou art. And therfore if I haue done treaſon, I require no reſpite of my payne. And here will I make an end of ſpeakyng, becauſe my laſt wordes ſeme tedious to your eares. As he was ſpeaking theſe wordes his kepers led him away. There was emōges the captains one Belon, a hardy mā, but very rude of al honeſt maner & ciuilitye, who beyng an olde ſouldier, was promoted frō low eſtate, to the rowme of a captaine. This Belon preſumyng vpon a foliſhe audacitie (when all others had done) began to tell thē: that when diuers had taken vp their lodginges in the campe, how they were thruſt out by the ſeruauntes of Philotas, which would lay their baggage, where other men were placed before. And how all the ſtreates were full of his wagons, ladē with gold and ſiluer. He added further that Philotas would ſuffer none to lodge nere him, but alwayes appointed certaine to waite whiles he ſlept, which ſhould voide al men a louſe, to the entent he ſhould not be diſquieted w̄ eny noiſe, not ſo much for wakening of him, as for his diſeaſyng. And how he was ſo haute that he diſpiſed the plaine men of Phrigia, & Paphlagonia, and being a Macedō borne, would not be aſhamed to heare men of his owne nacion by an interpreter. And where as Philotas had before moued to haue ẏ Oracle of Iupiter enquired of, he ſaide it was ment therby to make God a lyer, for knowledging Alexāder to be his ſonne, as though eny man ſhould enuy the kyng for that title which the Goddes had geuen him. But why (qd he) did he not aſke coūſaile of Iupiter before he did offēd. For nowe he would haue vs ſend for an Oracle, that in the meane ſeaſõ his father which ruleth in Media, might raiſe a power vp, ⁊ with the money ẏ he hath in cuſtody aſſemble deſperate perſones to the felowſhyp of hys miſchiefe. Neuertheles we ſhall (qd he) ſend to Jupiter, not to enquire of eny thing towching the matter, but to geaue him thankes, ⁊ do him ſacrifice, for ẏ preſeruation of ſo good a king. Then all the cõpany was moued, and emõges the kinges houſhold there began a crye that the traytoure ſhoulde be rente in peaces. Whyche thyng Philotas (who feared more greuous punyſhement) was content to heare. The king returnyng into the preaſe deferryd the coũſayle til the next daye. for to commit Philotas either to priſon there to be racked, or els in the meane ſeaſon to gette further knowledge of thinges. And albeit, it drue towardes night, yet commaunded he his coũſayle to be called together. Some of them thought it beſt Philotas ſhold be ſtoned to death after the Macedõs lawes. Epheſtiõ Craterus, and Cenus determined to haue the trouth tried by tormentes, and then they which counſeled the contrary turned to their opynion. Therefore when the counſel was broken vp, Epheſtion, with Craterus and Cenus aroſe to take Philotas thexaminacion. The king called Craterus vnto him, and commaũding the reſte to auoide, had ſecret cõmunicaciõ with him in the innermoſte parte of his lodging theffect wherof came not to eny mans knowledge. And ther taried tyll the night was farre paſſed, to heare thend of thexaminaciõ The executioners ſet forth al ſortes of cruel tormẽtes in ẏ ſight of Philotas, who of hys owne mind ſaid vnto them: Why deferre you to kill ſuch one as hath cõfeſſyd him ſelfe ẏ kinges enemy and a traytour: what nedeth more examinaciõ: It was myne intent It was

Philotas racked.

my wyll. Craterus minde was, that whatſoeuer was confeſſed before, ſhould be cōfeſſed bi Philotas againe vpon the racke. Whiche whiles he was taken vp, hys eyes bounden, and ſpoyled of his clothes cried out vpō the lawe of nature, and the Goddes of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deffe eares. Finally as a condempned man, he was torne with moſte extreame tormentes by his enemies, that wrong him ſore for the kinges pleaſure. And notwithſtandyng that bothe fire and ſcourges were miniſtred vnto hym, more to payne him, then for enye examininacions ſake, yet he had power of him ſelfe to refrayne both from ſpeaking and gronyng. But after that his bodye beganne to be bolne with Stripes, and that he coulde not abyde the ſcourges whiche pearſed vnto the bare bones. Then he promiſed if they woulde tormente hym no more, he woulde confeſſe whatſoeuer they ſhoulde requyre to know. But firſt he would haue them ſweare by the life of Alexander that they ſhoulde ceaſe their tormētes, & ſet the racke aſide. The which thing obteyned, he ſaied to Craterus: Tell me what ye will haue me to cōfeſſe? Thereat Craterus was diſpleaſed, thinkyng by thoſe wordes yͤ he had mocked him, & cauſed his tormentes to be renued.

The confeſſyon of Philotas.

Then Philotas beſought him to haue a time of reſpite whiles he myght take his breath, & then he woulde vtter all that euer he knewe. In the meane ſeaſon, the chiefe of the men at armes, & eſpecially ſuch as were nere to Parmenio in eny degre of kinred, after that the fame had bruted that Philotas was tormēted, fearing the Macedōs law (wherin it was ordeined that the kinſfolke of ſuch as had done treaſon againſt the king, ſhold be put to death wᵗ the traytors.) Some ſlew them ſelues, ſome fled into wilde mōtaynes, and waſte wilderneſſes, & great dread & feare fell throughe all the hoſt, vntil ſuch time as the kyng hauyng knowlege of that vprore, made proclamacion yͭ he would pardon the rigour of the lawe to the kinſfolke of the traytours. But in cõclusion Philotas made this cõfeſſion, whether it were to deliuer him ſelfe out of paine, by accuſyng him ſelfe falſely or not, it is doubted: ſeing it is cõmunely ſene, that both ſuch as truely cõfeſſe, & falſelye denye, come all to one ende. You are not ignoraunt (quod he) how familier my father was wͭ Egilocus. I meane the ſame that was ſlaine in the feild: he was the cauſe of all our miſchiefe: For whẽ the king toke vpon him the title of Jupiters ſonne, he diſdayned therat. Shal we knowlege him (quod he) to be our king yͭ taketh ſcorne that Philip was his father? We are al vndone if we can ſuffer this. He dothe not onely deſpiſe men, but yͤ Gods alſo, which wil be reputed a God. We haue loſt Alexander, we haue loſt our kyng. We are fallen to preſumption, nether tollerable to the Gods wyth whom he cõpareth, neither to men whom he deſpiſeth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which deſpiſeth vs? which diſdayneth to be in the numbre of men? Truſt me yͭ we alſo if we be men, ſhall be adopted likewiſe of the Gods. Who hath reuẽged the deathes of Alexander his great grandfather, or of Archilaus, or Perdicas? But this man (quod he) hath forgeuen them that ſlew his father. These were the wordes that Egilocus ſpake about ſupper time, and on the morowe earlye my father ſent for me, who was heauy, and ſawe me ſadde, for we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therefore to proue whether he babled thoſe woordes through exceſſe of wine, or of an aduiſed purpoſe cõceiued before, we thought good to ſende for him, & ſekyng occacion of yͤ ſame cōmunicatiō, he of his owne mind ſaid further: that if we durſt undertake the aduenture he would not ſhrynke from us or if our hartes ſeruyd not, he would kepe our counſayle. Yet ſo long as Darius was liuyng my father thought all the matter out of time; becauſe the death of Alexāder ſhould be to the aueile of our enemies, and not of our ſelues. But Darius once ridde out of the waye, then he that could deſtroy the kynge, ſhould obtaine the empire of Aſia and all the orient for his reward: whiche coūſaile being approued, faythe and trouth was geuen therupon, but concernyng Dimnus I know nothing. When he had confeſſed all thys matter, I perceyue (quod he) that it dothe not auayle me that I am vtterlye giltles of thys treaſon. Then thei renued his tormentes againe, and ſo beate hys face and his eyes with the troncheons of their ſpeares, until they enforced him, not onely to cōfeſſe of him ſelfe, but alſo to ſhewe the circumſtaunces of the whole treaſon prepēced. Becauſe (quod he) it ſemed yͤ the kyng would ſoiourne long emong the Bactriās, I was afraied leaſt my father that had ſo great a power in his handes, and the keping of ſo much treaſure, (beyng .lxx. yere of age) ſhould happe to die in the meane ſeaſon, & thē being diſarmed of ſo great a ſtrēgth, ſhould not get oportunitie to ſlea the king. Wherfore I haſted the matter, whiles the play was in hand. Thus diſcouered he the conſpiracye, wherof if thei beleuid his father to be aucthour (he ſaied) for his trial he refuſed not to be tormented againe, though it were ſo greuous for him to endure. The officers then whiſperyng together, thought the examination to be ſufficiente, & returned therwythal to the kyng, which on the morowe cauſed al the cōfeſſiō there to be opēly recited

before

The ſecond confeſſiō of Philotas.

wisperinge

before Philotas, whō he cauſed to be ledde into the place bicauſe he was not able to go, & there where he cōfeſſed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought forth, which was counted the greateſt doer in this conſpiracye next to Philotas. But he with great proteſtacion, and incredible ſtoutnes both of hart and countenaunce, denied ẏ he euer entended eny euil againſt the kyng, & for his trial deſired to be tormented. Thē Philotas caſtyng his eyes about, ſpied one Calis ſtanding by, and made a ſigne to him to draw nere. Who beyng abaſhed, and refuſyng to come forwardes. Wilt thou (quod he) ſuffer Demetrius to lye, & me to be ſtreyned againe? With thoſe wordes Calis became ſpeachles, & chaūged colour. Thē the Macedons began to ſuſpect that he would accuſe innocentes, becauſe the ſame Calis was neither named by Nichomacus, nor by Philotas him ſelfe in his tormentes. But finallye Philotas before the kinges officers ſtāding therabout, confeſſed that all the treaſon was cōſpired by him ſelfe and Demetrius. Wherfore as many as were appeached bi Nichomacus vpon a token geuen. were ſtoned to deathe according to the Macedons lawe, Thus was Alexander deliuered from great perill, not onely of his life but alſo of his ſurety. For Parmenio and Philotas beyng of ſuch power, if they had not opēly bene found culpable, coulde not haue bene condēpned without the great grudge of the army. So long therfore as Philotas denied the thing, the matter ſeamed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruellye handeled. But after he had confeſſed the circumſtaūces, no man, not ſo much as his neare frendes toke eny pitye of him.

Demetrius.

Calis.

Philotas put to death

for concelinge treason, not wᵗſtandinge he wer no partaker of it.

The ſeuēth boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the great Alexander, Kyng of Macedon.

(:)

LIke as the menne of warre thought Philotas iuſtly put to death, his offence beyng freſhe in memorie, euen ſo after he was gone, whō they before hated, their enuy was turned to pitye. The noblenes of the young man moued them muche, ſo did the remēbraunce of the olde yeres and deſolatiō of his father. He was the firſte that made the waye open for Alexāder into Aſia, alwaies partaker of his perils, as he which in the warres was euer captaine of his howard, chiefe a coūſaile with the king his father, and ſo truſty to Alexander him ſelfe, yͤ in oppreſſyng of Attalus his enemy he wold vſe none other mans ſeruice. The remembraunce of theſe thinges was ripe emong all the ſouldiers, & ſedicious wordes came to the kinges eares, who being little moued therwith, did wiſely with trauaile auoide the euil occaſiōs comming of idlenes: Wherefore he made it to be proclaymed that al menne ſhould be in readines before the court gate, where they being once aſſembled he came forth to ſpeake vnto thē. And as it was before deuiſed, required the band of the Agrians to bryng forth one Alexander Lynceſtes, (Alexander Linceſtes.) whiche long before Philotas, had cōſpired yͤ kinges death. This man beyng accuſed of two witneſſes (as afore is ſaid) had remained in priſō .iii. yeres together. Againſt whom it was proued that he was of counſayle wyth Pauſanias in the kyllynge of kynge Philippe. But becauſe he ſaluted firſt Alexander by the name of Kyng, hys puniſhment was deferred, rather then his offence

for:

forgeuen. For at the interceſſiō of Antipater his father in lawe, the king had reſpited his iuſt indignacion for the time. But the old feſtred ſore brake out againe, and the cōſideration of his peril preſent, renued the remēbraunce of his daunger paſſed. Therfore when he was brought forth of priſon, & commaunded to ſaye for him ſelfe, albeit he had .iii. yeres leaſure to deuiſe his aunſwere, yet ſtammeryng and tremblyng coulde bring forth but little of that whiche he purpoſed to ſaye. And finally, both his hart & his memory failed him. Wherefore there was none that doubted, but that his fearfulnes was a token of a gylty conſcience, and no default of memory, ſo that whiles he was ſtaggeryng and hacking in his tale, they that ſtode next thruſt him through with their pikes: whoſe body conueyed out of the place the Kynge commaunded Amintas and Symmannas to be brought forth, for Palemon their yongeſt brother after he had knowledge of Philotas torment, fledde away. Of al Philotas frendes, theſe .ii. were moſt deare vnto him, & throughe his commendation, aduaunced to high & honorable offices. The kyng remembryng with what earneſtnes and labour Philotas had brought thē into his fauour, doubted not but thei were priuy to this laſt conſpiracie. Wherupon he declared to the multitude, that he had occaſion of ſuſpicion againſt thoſe mē long ago by his mothers letters, wherby he had warnyng to beware of them, & that now fearyng the ſequel of worſer inconueniences had made them ſure, enforced therunto by apparant preſumptions. Firſt he ſaied the daye before Philotas treaſon came to light, it was well knowen that they had much conference with him in ſecrete, and alſo their brother whiche fledde a waye when Philotas was on the racke, had declared by the

Euill grudges oft tymes are remembred, & a punishmente be many tymes defferred, but not forgeuen.

ſtameringe

ſtaggeringe and hackinge.

Amintas & Simmānas brought to iudgement.

Alexāders accuſatiō agaynſt them

abſent

abſenting of him ſelf ÿ cauſe of his flying. He ſhewed alſo ÿ of late, cõtrary to their accuſtomed maner of waiting, wout eny cauſe mouing thẽ therunto, but only by pretẽce of diligẽce, preaſed nexte about the king of al other, wherat maruelynge ÿ they wold furniſh a rowme wherunto they were not appointed, became ſo in doubt their of cluſtering together, ÿ he returned into ÿ traine of ÿ gentlemen that folowed him. He declared beſides that when Antiphanes clarcke of the ſtable, the day before Philotas treaſon came to lyght, accordyng to his accuſtomable maner, gaue knoweledge to Amyntas that he ſhoulde deliuer of his horſe to ſuche as had loſt their owne. He proudelye aunſwered agayne, that excepte he woulde coutente him ſelfe, he ſhoulde knowe ſhortely what maner of man he was. Which violence of toung and raſhenes of wordes, burſted out (quod he) was nothing elles but a declaration and token of his trayterous harte. Theſe thinges beyng true (he ſaied) thei hadde no leſſe deſerued then Philotas, and if they were otherwiſe, he deſired they myght aunſwere vnto the poyntes. Therupon Antiphanes was brought in to geue euidence of the horſe not deliuered, and of his proud aunſwere geuen with threatenyng. When Amintas had gotten libertie to ſpeake, he deſired of the king, ÿ whiles they anſwered for thẽ ſelues, their hãdes might be loſed, which thing obtayned he made ſuite to haue his garment caſt vpõ him. Which Alexander not only grãted, but willed alſo ſuch a wepõ to be deliuerd to his handes, as other eſquires vſed. When he had receiued the ſame, he eſchued a litle the place where the corps of Linceſtes laye, & ſaied in this wiſe: Whatſoeuer ſhall become of vs (ſir kyng) we muſte thinke if our chaunce be good, ÿ ſame to procede of your fauour, and if it be euil, we muſt iudge the fault to be in our fortune

To furniſhe a rowme wherunto they are not appointed, is taken and interpreted of some good and worthi beinge in dede ſhamleſſe impudencie.

Antiphanes

Thanſwere of Amyntas

tyme, ſeyng you ſuffer vs to pleade our cauſe without preiudice, ſettyng our mindes free, and our bodies at large, with the ſame apparaile reſtored vs, wherin we were wont to folow you. Our cauſe is ſuch that we can not doubt of it, and we are paſſed the feare of fortune. Therfore with your fauour I wil aunſwere firſt thoſe poyntes wherwith you charged vs laſte. We knowe moſte aſſuredlye that we be innocente of eny kinde of wordes ſpokẽ to the derogation of your maieſtye. And durſt affirme that you had ouercome all enuye of men, but that peraduenture you woulde thinke that I went about with fayre wordes to excuſe thinges ÿ haue bene maliciouſly ſpoken. Though it were ſo ÿ wordes ſometime did eſcape vs, either when we were fainte, or weried in marching, haſardyng our ſelues in fyghtyng, or elles when we were ſicke, or dreſſyng of our woundes, our honeſt doings otherwiſe do deſerue, that ye ſhould rather imput the ſame to ÿ time, then to eny euil diſpoſition in vs: For it is communely ſene where eny thing chaunceth amiſſe, all menne in maner become giltye of this fault. We do violence ſometyme to our owne bodyes whiche we hate not. Yea, the comminyng of the fathers vnto the children ſometyme is both vngratefull, and alſo hatefull. But on the other ſide, when we receyue rewardes or gyftes, or whẽ we come laden home wyth ſpoyle, who can then ſtaye vs? who can reſtreyne oure chearefulnes? or who can reſiſte our courage in fightyng? The nature of man is neither to kepe meaſure in diſpleaſure, nor in gladneſſe. Thus are we driuen by the violence of affection, ſometyme with pitye, and ſometime with furye, as our preſent deſire doth gouern vs. One while we are in mind to paſſe through India as far as ÿ Occiã ſea, & by & by the memory of our

The natur of
man, to kepe
measure, nether
in displeasure
nor in gladnes.

wiues, children and countrey, cal vs backe againe, and dothe alter our purpoſe. But as ſone as the trumpet bloweth, ſtreight all theſe imaginacions do paſſe away, and euery manne then runneth into his araye, reuengyng vpon their enemies, the diſpleaſures conceiued within their lodgynges. I woulde Philotas hadde offended but onely in wordes, I would paſſe ouer that and returne to the other pointe, wherof we be accuſed. The frendſhyppe that was betwixte Philotas and vs, I wyll not onely not denye, but alſo confeſſe that we did couet the ſame, and receiued therby great commoditie. Do you maruelle that we did honour and eſteme the ſonne of Parmenio, whom you did choſe to be next aboute your perſone, and did aduaunce aboue all other your frendes? You your ſelfe (if it pleaſe you to heare the trueth) are the cauſe of this our peryll. What other thing moued vs to couet Philotas frendeſhyppe, then that we deſired to pleaſe you. By his prefermente we were aduaũced to that degree of your fauour. He ſtode in ſuch caſe with you, that it behoued vs as well to ſue for his beneuolence, as to feare to get his diſpleaſure. Haue not we ſworne that we ſhoulde repute your enemies our enemies? and honoure your frendes as oure owne? Should we haue bene founde diſobediẽt in this bonde of our duty? and ſpecially towardes him, whom ye did preferre aboue al mẽ. If this be a faulte, ye haue fewe innocentes, or ſurely none at all. All men deſired to be Philotas frendes but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if ye wyll make no difference betwene the parteners of his treaſon, and ſuche as were his frendes; then ſo many be offenders as would haue bene his frendes. What preſũption haue you nowe that we ſhould offende? I thinke becauſe yeſterdaye Philotas

All men are glad of the frendshyp of hym, that is in fauor of the Prynce.

tas talked wͭ vs familiarly alone. Therof I cā not excuſe my ſelfe, if yeſterday I chaūged eny thing of mine accuſtomed maner & liuyng. But if ſo be we vſed euery day to do the like, then cuſtome muſte nedes make it to be none offēce. But it may be ſaid the horſes were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the day before Philotas was detected, this matter was betwene Antiphanes & me. If that be a iuſt cauſe of ſuſpection that I woulde not then deliuer my horſes, there ſhal a ryſe a doubtful plee betwene the denier and the demaunder, ſauynge that his cauſe is better that kepeth ſtill his owne, then his that requireth a nother mans. I had ten horſes, of the whych Antiphanes had diſtributed. viii. to ſuch as hadde loſte their owne, ſo there remayned onely two, whiche when he woulde proudly, and wrongfully haue taken awaye I was enforced to kepe them ſtil, excepte I woulde haue ſerued on fote. I can not denye but thys communication was had betwene a man of a fre ſtomake, & a perſon of a vile nature, which could do no maner ſeruice, but take away mēs horſes, & geue thē to other. What miſchief is this, yͤ at on time I muſt purg my ſelfe both to the kinge and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynte that your mother did write to you of vs, as of your enemies. I wold god ſhe had more wiſely bene carefull of her ſōnes ſaufguard, thē doubtfully imagined ſuch fained figures. Why doth ſhe not alſo expreſſe yͤ cauſe of her fear: Beſides ſhe ſheweth not her aucthour, nor yet ſignifieth one word wherby ſhee was moued to writ to you ſuch letters of fear. O wretched eſtate of mine, which ſtandeth in leſſe haſarde to holde my peace thē to ſpeake. Yet howſoeuer the matter ſhall paſſe. I had rather mine excuſe ſhoulde diſpleaſe you, then my cauſe. If you remembre when ye ſente me to fetch newe ſouldiours out of Macedon & then ye ſhewed me ẏ in your mothers houſe there lurked many luſty yoũg gẽtlemen, wherfore ye cõmaũded me that in executinge your cõmiſſion I ſhoulde ſpare none, but bryng wyth me perforce al ſuch as refuſed ẏ warres. Which thynge I dyd, and fulfylled your wyll therein more largely then was expediente for me. For I brought vnto you Gorgeas, Hecateus, and Gorgata whyche nowe miniſter vnto you ryghte acceptable ſeruice. What creature therefore is more wretched thẽ I which if I had not fulfilled your wyl, ſhould rightfully haue ſuffered, and now peryſhe becauſe I obeyed you. For truely there was none other cauſe that moued your mother to perſecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitie before a womans fauour. I broughte vnto you of Macedons .vi. M. fotemen & .viii. hundre horſemen, of the whiche the more part would not haue folowed me, if I hadde releaſed ſuche as woulde not haue come. It is reaſon therefore, that in as muche as your mother is diſpleaſed wyth vs for youre cauſe, that ye mitigate her in whoſe diſpleaſure ye haue put vs.

Palemon.

Whiles Amintas was thus pleadynge hys cauſe, they ẏ had purſued hys brother Palemõ (of whom we ſpake before) came leadynge him bound into the place. Then the rage of the people coulde ſcareſly be pacified, but as the maner was in ſuch caſes, they woulde haue ſtoned Palemon to deathe. Yet he boldely ſpake to theim and ſaied. I deſier no fauour for my ſelfe, ſo that my fliyng be not hurtful to the innocencie of my brethren, whome if ye can not thinke cleare, let the fault be layed to me. For their matter appeareth the better, becauſe I which fled awaie am ſuſpected. Aſſone as he had ſpokẽ theſe wordes, the whole aſſemble weer inclined in his fauour and resolued to teares, being ſo ſodainely ſo contrary turned, that nowe they were al conuerted on his parte, whyche a little before were al agaynſte him. He was in the prime floure of his youth, and throughe other mens feare, fled awaye emonges thoſe horſemen, which were amaſed at Philotas tormentes. His company had left him behynd, and whyles he was in doubte whether he myghte turne againe, or flee futher forwardes, was taken by them whiche purſued after him. He then began to weape, and beate hym ſelfe aboute the face, not ſo much lamentyng his owne chaunce, as that caſe of his brethren beyng in daunger for his cauſe, wyth whiche his behauour he moued the kynge, and al the company there preſent. Onelye his brother Amintas coulde not be pacified, but behelde him wyth a fierce countenãce, ⁊ ſaied: O madde creature, then oughteſt thou to haue wept, when thou diddeſt put thy ſpores to thy horſe, as a traytoure to thy brethren, and a companion of treatours. Thou wretche, whether and from whence diddiſt thou flye? Thou haſte nowe broughte to paſſe that bothe I am thoughte worthy of deathe, and alſo muſte become an accuſer of other. Palemon thereupon confeſſed hym ſelfe to haue offended in that poynte, but more greuouſly agaynſte hys brethren, then towardes him ſelfe. Then the multitude could not abſtayne from weping and showting: being tokẽs wherby men in an aſſemble are wounte to declare their affections, and wyth one conſente they cried all to the king wyth one voice, that he ſhuld ſpare innocentes, ⁊ of mẽ ſeruice, his frẽdes alſo vpon yͤ occaſiõ did riſe, ⁊ wͭ weping eyes required the kyng of mercye. Then he commaunded ſilence, and ſayed: By myne owne iudgemente I do pardon bothe you Amyntas, and youre brethren,

Amintas pardoned.

brethren, deſirous that ye ſhoulde be more myndfull of my benefite then of your owne ieopardy. Come in fauoure againe with me with that fidelitie I am reconſiled vnto you. Except thoſe things which were brought in euidence had bene debated and tried to the vttermoſt, my diſſimulacion mighte haue bene ſuſpected in this matter. Better it is therfore to be cleared, then to remaine in Ielouſy, and think that no man can be acquited, except he be firſt detected. Thou Amintas pardon thy brother, & let that be a token of thy hart reconſiled vnto me. This done, the kyng diſmiſſed the aſſēble and ſent for Poledamas, whom of al men Parmenio loued beſt, accuſtomed alwaies to ſtande next hym in battayle. And though the clerenes of hys conſcience dyd aſſure him to come boldelye, yet after he was commaūded to bryng forth his brethren beyng but young, and vnknowen to the kynge, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubte, imagening in hys mynde rather ſuch thynges as myght hurte hym, then by what meanes he was thus circumuented. In the meane ſeaſon the garde whych had commaundemente thereunto, broughte forth hys brethren. When the kynge ſawe Poledamas pale for feare, he called hym neare, and commaundynge all men a parte, ſayed vnto hym: Throughe Parmenios treaſon, we were all in daunger, but chiefely I and thou, whome vnder coloure of frendſhyppe, he deceyued moſt: In the purſuynge and puniſhemente of whome, ſee howe much I truſte thy fidelitye, for I am determined to vſe the as a miniſter therein, and whiles thou goeſt aboute it, thy brethrē ſhalbe thy pledges. Thou ſhalt go into Media and beare my letters to my officers, writtē wyth myne owne hande. It is neceſſarye haſte be made, that the ſwiftnes of the ſame may be preuented. I wyll that ye come

Poledamas

Alexanders wordes to Poledamas

come thether in the nighte, and that the tenoure of my writing be executed ẏ daye after. Ye ſhal carye letters likewiſe to Parmenio, one from me, and an other written in the name of Philotas. I haue his ſignet in my cuſtody. So that when Parmenio ſhall ſe bothe you, ⁊ the letter ſealed with his ſonnes ringe, he wilbe wythout any ſuſpition. Polidamas being thus deliuered of feare, promiſed his diligēce a great deale more earneſtlye, then he was required. When Alexander ſawe his prompnes in the matter, bothe commended hys good wil, and rewarded him accordynglye. And Polidamas chaunged his owne apparell, and toke other after the Araby faſhion, with two men of the ſame countrey to be his guides for whoſe truth their wiues and children were pledges in the meane ſeaſon. And ſo they paſſed on Camels throughe ſuche places as were deſerte for lacke of moyſture, and within .xi. dayes came to their iourneys ende, before eny knewe of their commynge. Polidamas then toke agayne hys Macedons apparell, and in the deade of the night, came into Cleanders lodgyng, which had the chief auctoritye there, next vnto Parmenio: When Cleander by his letters vnderſtode ẏ kinges pleaſure, Polidamas hauynge more letters to deliuer likewiſe to others, agreed by the ſpryng of the day to go al togethers vnto Parmenio. As they were going, tidings came to Parmenio of Polidamas arriual, who reioyſyng both for the cōming of his frēd, and for the deſire he had to know of the kinges eſtate, (the rather becauſe he had receiued no letter from hym a longe ſpace) commaunded Polidamas to be ſoughte out. The houſes of that countrey haue large backeſydes, and pleaſaunt orchardes ful of trees: beyng the chiefe delyghte of prynces, and greate lordes there.

The councell deferre not the tyme, to put the councell in execution.

Cleander.

The capitaines which had receiued commaundement by the kynges letters to kyll hym, came to Parmenio, walkyng vnder the ſhadow of the trees, being agreed emonges them ſelues to execute the thynge, when he ſhould begynne to reade his letters. So ſone as Parmenio had ſpied Polidamas comming a farre of, wyth a ſemblaunt of ioye (as it appeared by his countenãce) ranne to embrace him, and after ſalutacion geuen ech to other, deliuered the kynges letter. As he was vncloſing it, he demaunded of Polidamas what the king intended to do: you ſhall know that (quod he) by the contentes of your letters. Which whẽ he had read, I perceiue (quod Parmenio) that the kyng purpoſeth a voyage againſte the Arochoſians, ſurelye he is a paynefull prince, and neuer in reſt. But nowe after ſo much glory wonne, it were time for hym to take his eaſe, & haue conſideracion of his healthe and ſaufegarde. And then he reade the other letter written in the name of Philotas, whereat he was ioyfull as appeared by his countenaunce. With that Cleander ſtabbed him wyth hys ſword into the ſide, & after ſtriking him ouer the throte, the reſidue thurſt him in as he lay dying. But Parmemenios men which ſtode neare at hand & ſaw the murder, wherof they knew not the cauſe, ran into the cãpe, & with their troublous tidinges, ſet all the ſouldiers in a rore. They ran ſtreight to harneis, & cluſtringe together about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamacion, that except Polidamas & the other doers of that dede were deliuered to their handes, they would ouerthrow ỹ wal, & make ſacrifice to their deade capitaine, wᵗ the bloud of ỹ offẽders. Cleander wylled the chief of thẽ to be let in, & recited the kinges letters wherin was cõteined the treaſõ of Parmenio intẽded

Parmenio ſlaine.

againſt

againſte him, with a requeſt to them to ſe it reuenged. Then immediatly vpon the kynges pleaſure knowen the ſedicion was appeaſed, but the grudge was not rid out of their hartes. The moſt part departed, ſauynge a fewe whyche required inſtauntely that at the leſte they might be ſuffered to bury the body. It was denied thē long, by reaſon of Cleander who dꝛeaded the kynges diſpleaſure, but becauſe they beganne to waxe moꝛe earneſt, intending to auoyde matter of ſedicion, he cut of the heade which he ſent to the kynge, and lefte them the body to bury. This was ẏ end of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre and peace, many thynges hadde he done valiaūtly without the king, but the kyng without him did neuer eny thyng woꝛthy pꝛayſe. He ſerued and ſatiſfied in al affaires, a kynge moſt happy ⁊ foꝛtunate, and beinge .lx. yeares of age, executed the office of a capitaine as liuely as though he had bene younge in yeares, and pꝛetermitted not oftentimes the partes of a common ſouldier. He was quicke in counſel, doubtie of dede, welbeloued of al pꝛinces, but moſte deare to the common ſorte of ſouldiers. Yet whether thoſe thynges dyd moue hym to couet to be kynge, oꝛ els cauſed hym to be ſuſpected thereof, it is yet doubted. Foꝛ whether the woꝛdes that Philotas ſpake, when he was ouercome with the paines in his laſte toꝛmentes were true oꝛ falſe, oꝛ els that he ſought an ende of his paine by accuſynge him ſelfe falſely, it was muche doubtful, ſeinge there was nothyng pꝛoued at ſuch tyme as the matter was moſt freſhe in memoꝛy. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were ſeperated from the reſt of the armye, and put into one Cohoꝛt vnder Leonidas theyꝛ Capitayne, whyche in tymes paſte was of neare familiaritye wyth Parme-

Parmenio a
grave councellor,
a good souldiour,
and a trew sub=
iect, for ought
that could be
proved against
him, who was
without cause
suddenly murdered.

Leonidas.

nio

nſo, the king bare preuie diſpleaſure againſt them, and therefore willing to proue the diſpoſicion of euery mā, gaue warnyng throughe out the army, that all ſuche as woulde write into Macedonia, and haue their letters ſuerly conueied, ſhould bringe them to be caried wyth ſuch as he would ſend. Wherupō euery man did write frākely to their frendes, ſuch thinges as were in their hartes. Some ſhewed them ſelues to be offended wͭ the longe warres, and ſome ſemed to be well pleaſed. But al their letters were intercepted, aſwell of ſuch as commended the kyng, as of thoſe that grudged at hys doynges. Wherefore he wylled ſuch as by their letters diſcloſed them ſelues to be wery of the trauayle of the warres, for their reproche to be put in a bande aparte from the reſt. Wherby he both gaue theym occaſion to ſhewe their hardines, and beſides remoued the libertie of their tounges, from the credulous eares of the reſt. Whiche raſhe deuiſe, as all other thinges, turned to the ſetting forth of the kinges felicitie. For in al extremities they ſhewed them ſelues the rediest and the mooſte forwarde, and whyles they coueted to redeame their reproche, their valiaunt doinges could not be hidden in ſo ſmale a numbre, ſeperate by them ſelues.

Arians.

Euergitans

These thinges beinge ordred after thys maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaymed hys iourney againſt the Araſpians, which by chaungynge of their name, were called Euergitans, ſince the tyme that they releaued Cirus army wͭ lodging & victualles being afflicted with cold and penury. It was the fifte daye before he entred into their countrey, when he vnderſtode that Satibarzanes which toke Beſſus part, was with a power of horſemen entered agayne amonges the Arians. He ſent againſte him Caranus & Erigius, nus, and in their ayde Artabaſus, and Andꝛomacus, with ſyxe thouſand Greke fotemen, and ſyxe hundꝛed hoꝛſemen. Alexander continued .lx. dayes in ſettynge oꝛdꝛe emonges the Euergitans vpon whome he beſtowed a great ſomme of monye, foꝛ the notable fidelitie they ſhewed towardes Cirus, and leuing Amenides to be their gouernour, (who was Darius ſecretarye), he wente to ſubdue the Arachoſians, which boꝛder vpon the ſea of Ponte. The men of warre that were vnder Parmenios rule, came then to Alexander, beynge ſyxe thouſand Macedons, with two hũdꝛed of the nobilite, v. M. Greake footemen, and two hundꝛed hoꝛſemen. which were the chiefeſt foꝛce of al his power. To theſe Arachoſians, Mennon was appointed lieutenaunte wyth .iiii. thouſand footemen, and .vi. C. hoꝛſemen. Alexander from thẽce entred wyth his army into a coũtrey not knowen to ſuch as boꝛdered vpõ it foꝛ thinhabytauntes would not haue cõuerſaciõ wyth eny other people. Thei were called Paramiſadans, being a ruſtical kynd of men, and moſt rude emonges al the barbarous nacions: the hardnes of the countrye had ſo indurated their diſpoſiciõs. They lye moſte towardes the cold noꝛth pole, ioyning with the Bactrians vpon the weſt, and bendinge towardes the Indian ſea vpon the ſouth. They vſe to buyld their houſes of bꝛicke, and becauſe the land is full of bareyne mountaynes ⁊ voyde of timbꝛe they make their whole houſes of the ſame. whych beginning bꝛoade beneth, growinge euermoꝛe narrow towardes the top, ende like the keles of a ſhyp, wher as ẏ holes be made aboue to receiue light. Such of theyꝛ vynes and trees that bꝛynge foꝛthe fruite as they wyll pꝛeſerue from the violence of the colde, they couer thẽ with earth during the winter ſeaſon, ⁊ when

Ariuenides.

Arachoſiãs

Mennon.

Paramiſſadans.

the ſnowe is baniſhed away, they reſtore them agayne to the ayer and to the ſunne. The earth was there couered with ſuch ſnow froſen ſo hard, that there remained no ſygne of eny bird or beaſt within the countrey. The ayre beſides was ſo darke that little light appeared, but the earth couered as it were wyth a dimme ſhadowe, mē could ſcarſly deſerne thinges very neare at hand. The army broughte into this countrye deſtitute of al cultiuacion of man, ſuffered al the diſcomodities and miſeries that mighte be endured, both of hungre, colde, werynes, and dyſpayre. There were manye of them that died for colde, and the ſnowe diſtroyed their feete, but ſpecially it periſhed manye mennes ſyghte. When they were weried and not able to trauaile eny further, they laied them ſelues downe vpon the froſen ſnowe, and hauynge once lefte the mocion of their bodies, whyche ſtirred in them their naturall heate, they were ſtreighte wayes ſo nummed for colde, that they could not ryſe agayne tyll they were lift vp by their cōpanions, And reamedy was ther none in thys matter, but to compel them to go forwardes, for thē by ſturring of them ſelues their naturall heate was reuiued, and they recouered agayne ſome ſtrength. Suche as recouered the cotagies wherin the countreymen dwelled, were verye well refreſhed. But the darkenes was ſo greate, that the houſes coulde not be other wyſe deſerned then by the ſmoke. The inhabiters that hadde neuer ſeene ſtraungers before emonges theym, when they behelde the armed men commynge ſodaynly vpō them, were amaſed for feare, and broughte forth what ſoeuer they had, to ſaue their bodyes frō violēce. Alexāder went on his fete emonges his men, raiſing ſuch as were lying, & releuing ſuche as he ſawe afflicted wyth the cold, with his own clothes. He was ſene, one while in the forwarde, another while in the middes, and ſome tyme in the rereward to the great trauaile of his body. At length they came to places better manured, where he refreſhed his army with plenty of victuals, and ther remained in campe til ſuche time as al that were lefte behinde, came vnto their felowes. Then he wente forwardes with his army to the mount Caucaſus, whych deuideth all Aſia into two partes. For on the one ſyde it ſtretcheth towardes the ſea of Cilicia, and on the other ſide, to the Caſpian ſea, to the riuer of Araxes, and the deſertes of Scythia. To thys mounte Caucaſus, there ioyneth another mountaine, called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, whiche riſeth from Capadocia & paſſyng by Cilicia, cloſeth with the mountaines of Armeny. Out of theſe mountaines ioynynge thus together as it were in one continuall rydge, all the ryuers of Aſia do deſcende. Some of them runninge into the red ſea, ſome into the Caſpian, and Hircanian ſea, & other into the Sea of Ponte. In .xvii. dayes Alexander wyth his army paſſed the mounte Caucaſus, wher in a rocke that is .x. furlõges in compaſſe, and foure in heighte, the antiquytye fayned that Prometheus laye bound. At the fote of this mountaine Alexander choiſe out a place to build a citie, wherein he placed .vii. thouſand of the moſt auncient Macedons, and ſuche other beſides whoſe ſeruyce he woulde not vſe eny more in the warres, and called the ſame Alexandria. But Beſſus that was put in feare wyth Alexanders celeritie, made ſacrifice vnto the Goddes of his countrye, and accordinge to the cuſtome of thoſe nacions, conſulted wyth his frendes and hys capitaynes, for the maynte-

Caucaſus.

Taurus.

Prometheus.

Alexandria.

Beſſus. wordes.

nāunce of the warres beyng at meate. And when they were wel charged with wine, they extolled greatly their owne power, deſpiſynge the raſhnes of their enemies, and their ſmale nūbre. But chiefely Beſſus was moſte arrogant in hys wordes, who puffed vp wyth pride by reaſon of the kingdome he had newely gotten by treaſon, and not maiſter of his wittes, beganne to declare: howe that Darius by his foly hadde encreaſed his enemies fame, who woulde nedes fyghte wyth them in the ſtreightes of Cilicia, when by retiryng backe he might haue drawen them (before they had bene ware) into deſert places, and there haue put riuers and moūtaynes betwene his enemies and him, and emonges the ſame ſo encloſed them, that they could by no poſſibilitie haue fled away, and much leſſe make eny reſiſtaūce. Wherfore (he ſaied) he was become of opinion to retire back emonges the Sogdians, whereas the riuer of Oxus ſhould be as a walle betwixt him and his enemies, tyll ſuche time as he myght aſſemble a ſtrong power of the nacions thereaboute: knowynge verye well that the Choraſmyons, the Dahans, and Sacans, the Indiās, and Scythians inhabityng beyonde the riuer of Tanais, woulde come to his aſſiſtaunce, of whome there was none ſo little, that eny Macedon wyth the toppe of hys heade, coulde reache to hys ſhouldiers. They all in their dronckennes aſſented to hym, affirmynge that onelye to be the wyſeſt waye. Whereupon Beſſus cauſed the wyne to be caried aboute plentifully to conquere Alexander vpon drinke. There was at that feaſte one Cobares a Median, whiche in the Arte Magick, (if it be an Arte, and not rather a dyſceyte of ſome vayne manne) was more notable by his profeſſion then by hys knoweledge, but otherwyſe a moderate and an honeſt man. He makyng a preamble before hys tale: ſayd. He was not ignoraunt how much more better it were to be obedient to others counſell, then to be a cou̅ſel geuer. For ſuch as be folowers of other mens deuiſes, are ſure to haue no worſe fortune then ẏ reſt, but ſuche as be authours & perſuaders of eny matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therwyth deliuered the cup he had in his hande, and proceded thus: The nature of man in this reſpect maye be called peruers and euil, becauſe euery one can ſe better in other mens matters, the̅ in their own. Their counſels muſt nedes be alwaies ful of perturbacion, whiche take their owne aduiſe.. For feare is impedimente to ſome, deſire vnto other, and to many the ſelf loue of the thing that they haue deuiſed. I wil not ſpeake of pride nor impute it vnto eny man. Ye haue ſene experience how euerye one doth exteame that thynge onely to be beſt, whyche he him ſelfe hath inuented. The Diademe of a kynge that you were vppon youre heade is a greate burden, whiche if it be borne moderatly the weyght thereof wyl oppreſſe the bearer: It is not furye can auayle in thys caſe but wyſe and prudent counſayle. When he hadde ſpoken thoſe wordes, he rehearſed a prouerbe co̅monly vſed emonges the Bactrians, whyche is that fearefull dogge dothe barcke more then byte, and that the deapeſt ryuers dothe runne wyth leaſt noyſe. Whych thynges I haue rehearſed, becauſe ſuche prudence maye appeare, as remayned emonges the Barbarous. As he talked after thys maner ſuche as hearde hym, wondred to what ende his tale woulde come to. Then he beganne to ſhewe hys aduyſe, whyche was more profitable to Beſſus, then gratefull. Alexanders

Cobarus wordes.

preamble.

Moste men esteme best by thinges of ther owne devyse.

The fearefull dogge, dothe barke more then byte, & the deepest ryvers run wt least noise.

Those that moue plainlie, seeke not so muche to please, as to profit.

S.iii. celeritie

celeritie (quod he) is ſuche, that he is come in maner to to the entrey of your courte. He can remoue his armye before you can remoue thys table. You ſaye that you wyl draw your aſſiſtaunce from the ryuer of Tanais, and that you wyl put riuers betwixt you and your enemies. I would know if he be not able to folowe, whereſoeuer you ſhal flee. If the way be indifferent, it muſt nedes be moſte eaſye and aſſured to the victorer. And though you thinke feare wil make much ſpede, yet hope is more ſwifter. It were therfore me thinkes expediẽt to procure the fauoure of him that is the mightieſt, and yelde your ſelfe vnto the ſtrõger. Howe ſoeuer he ſhal accepte it, youre fortune is more lyke to be better that way, then to remayne ſtyll an enemy. Conſider that you poſſeſſe another mans kyngdome, and therfore ye may the better depart there withall. For ye cannot be a iuſt kyng till you receiue the kingdome of hym that is able to gyue it, and take it away. This is a fayethfull counſel, wherefore it is not neceſſary to delaye the execution thereof. The horſe ỹ is of noble courage wilbe gouerned with the ſhadowe of a rodde. But the dull beaſte is not pricked forwarde with the ſpores. Beſſus that was fierſe of nature and well ſet forwardes wyth drinking, became in ſuch a furye wyth his wordes, that he could ſcarſely be holden by his frendes, from the ſleynge of Cobares, for he pulled out his ſworde to haue done the dede, and departed out of the feaſte in a great rage. But Cobares in thys ſtur eſcaped away, & came vnto Alexander. Beſſus had. viii. M Bactriãs armed attending vpõ him. Which ſo long as they iudged that by reaſon of the intemperatenes of the ayre in thoſe partes, the Macedons woulde rather haue gone into

Hope, is more ſwyfte, then feare.

They that gyve good councell, are ſome tymes, rewarded wth envye.

Inde then into Bactria, were verye obediente at hys commaundement. But when they vnderſtode that Alexander was comminge towardes theym, euery one ſhroncke awaye, and forſoke Beſſus. Then he wyth a bande of hys familie whyche were yet fayethfull vnto him, paſſed the riuer of Oxus, burning ſuch boates as caried hym ouer, becauſe that the ſame ſhuld not ſerue his enemie in folowynge hym, and aſſembled a newe power emonges the Sogdians. Alexander as it hath bene ſaide before, paſſed the mounte Caucaſus, but for lacke of corne his armye was brought in maner to the extremitie of honger. In ſteade of oyle they were faine to noint them ſelues with a iuſe which they wringe out of Seſema, but euerye meaſure thereof called Amphora, was ſold for .ccxl. deneres, euerye lyke meaſure of honie for .cccxc. and of wyne for .ccc. and yet of yͤ ſame was verye little to be gotten. They haue in that countrey certaine veſſels called Sirye, whiche theinhabitauntes vſe to hide, ſo priuely that they can not be foūd except they be digged for within the earth. The countrey men bury their corne after that maner, for wante wherof the ſouldiours were faine to liue wyth herbes, and ſuche fiſhe as thei caughte in the riuers. But that kinde of fode wanting alſo, they were enforced to ſlea their cariage beaſtes, and lyued wyth the fleſh of theim tyll they came into Bactrya. The nature of the ſoyle of whiche countrey is diuers and of ſundrye kyndes. Some place is plentifull of woode and vynes, and aboundaunte of pleaſaunte fruite, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of ſprynges. Thoſe partes whyche be moſte temperate are ſowed wyth corne, and

Oxus.

The diſcription of Bactria.

the reſt be reſerued for fedinge of beaſtes. But ẏ greater part of that countrey is couered ouer with baraine ſãdes, ⁊ withered vp for want of moiſture, nouriſhing neither man, nor bringynge forth fruite. But with certaine windes that come from the ſea of Ponte, the ſãd in the plaines is blowen together in heapes, whyche ſeme a farre of like great hilles, wherby the accuſtomed wayes be ſo damned, that no ſigne of them can appere. Therfore ſuch as do paſſe thoſe plaines, vſe to obſerue the ſtarres in the night, as they do which ſaile the ſeas, by the courſe of them directinge their iourney. The nightes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes, wherfore in the day time the countrey is wild and vnpaſſable, when they can nether find eny tract nor way to go in, nor marke or ſigne wherby to paſſe, ẏ ſtarres beyng hidden by the miſt. If the ſame wind chaunce to come duryng the time that mẽ be paſſing, it ouerwhelmeth theym with ſande. Where the cõtrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plenty both of men ⁊ horſe. So that the Bactrians may make .xxx. M. horſemen. Bactria whiche is the heade citie of that region, ſtandeth vnder a mountaine called Parapaniſus, the riuer called Bactras runneth by the walles, wherof both the citie and the countrey take their names.

Parapaniſus.
Bactras.

Alexander lyinge there in campe, receiued aduertiſmente out of Greace, howe the Lacedemonians, ⁊ the whole cõtrey of Peliponeſe had rebelled againſt him. For they had not loſte the battaile at ſuche tyme as the meſſengers were diſpatched that broughte the newes of their reuoulte. In the necke of thys euyll tidinges, there came another preſent terroure: whyche was that the Scythians inhabitynge beyonde the riuer of Tanays were commyng to ayde Beſſus. And at the ſame time

Caranus. Erigius

tyme tydinges came to him of the battayle that Caranus and Erigius had foughte wyth the Arians, where Satybarzanes that was newly reuolted being chiefe of the countrey, ſeinge the battayle to remayne equall on both ſides, ridde into ẏ fore fronte, ⁊ plucked of his helmet, forbiddyng eny of his ſide eyther to caſt darte, or ſtrike ſtroke, and there made a chalenge to fyght hande to hande, if eny man durſte come forthe and proue his ſtrength. Erigius capitayne to the Macedons was a man ſtriken in yeares, but yet not inferiour to eny young man, either in ſtowtnes of ſtomake or ſtrength of bodye, who could not beare the proud arrogancy of Satibarzanes but ſtepped forwardes, and plucking of his helmet likewiſe, ſhewed his hoare heere The daye is come (quod he) that I wyl ſhewe either by the victorye, or by my honeſt death, what kynde of men Alexander hath to hys frendes and his ſouldiours, ⁊ without more wordes made towardes his enemye. It coulde not be iudged but that bothe armies had ſtayed their handes by appoyntmēt. For they gaue backe immediatly on both ſides to let thē haue fre ſcope, ech party ſtanding in expectaciō what ſhould become of ẏ chalengers, for thei could not but thinke them ſelues partakers of their aduēture. Satibarzanes fyrſt charged his ſtaffe, whyche Erigius auoyded by bendynge hys heade aſide, but he in the middes of his race, ſtrake the other wyth hys ſpeare through the throte, ſo ẏ it came forth agayne at his necke. Satibarzanes vpon that ſtroke fell from hys horſe, but yet made reſiſtaunce, tyll ſuche tyme as Erigius plucked the ſpeare out of the wounde, and thruſte it agayne into his mouth, who to ridde him ſelfe out of payne, furthered hys enemies

Here dowes no=
table man fole
in olde yeares.

Satibarzanes ſlaine

ſtroke. Then the Arians ſeyng their capitayne ſlayne, whom they hadde folowed rather of neceſſitie then of their owne free wylles, called to remembraunce Alexanders benefites, and yelded them ſelues to Erigius. Alexander reioyſed muche of the good ſucceſſe of this matter, doubtynge greatelye the Lacedemonians: but he bare out their rebelion ſtoutelye, ſaiynge: that they durſte neuer diſcloſe their meanynge, tyll they knewe he was come to the confines of India. Alexander hauyng remoued his campe, and goyng forwardes in the purſuite of Beſſus, Erigius mette him, preſentyng the ſpoyle of his enemye, as a memorye of his victorye. Therupon he committed the rule of Bactria to Artabaſus, where wyth a guariſon he lefte his cariage, and with a power that was light to iourney, entred into the deſertes of yͤ Suſitanes: cōueiyng his army by night. In the want of water (that hath bene declared before) deſperation moued them to thirſt before thei had deſire to drinke. For by the ſpace of .iiii. c. furlonges, they foūd no water at all. The vapoure of the ſunne being in the ſomer ſeaſon did ſo burne the ſande, that when it begā to waxe hotte, it ſtarched all thynges as it hadde bene wyth a continuall fyre. And then the lyght ſomewhat obſcured by a myſte that roſe oute of the earth by the immoderate heate, cauſed the playnes to haue appearaūce of a maine ſea. Their iournei in the night ſemed tollerable, becauſe their bodyes were ſomewhat refreſhed wyth the dewe and the colde of the mornyng. But when the daye came, and the heate roſe, then the drought dryyng vp al the natural humours, bothe their mouthes and their bowels were enflamed for heate. Then their hartes fayled, and their bodies faynted, be-

The Suſitans.

ſtarched

yng in caſe that they could neither ſtand ſtyll, nor paſſe forwardes. A fewe that were taught by ſuche as knew the countrey, had gotten water whiche refreſhed them ſomewhat, but as the heate encreaſed, ſo their deſire grewe againe to drinke. Then was there no remedye but to geue emonges the ſouldiours all the wine & oyle that remayned in ſtore. For drynke was ſo ſwete vnto them, that it toke away the feare of eny thirſt to come. But ſuch as had gulled in gredely the water that they gotte, became ſo heauye, that they were neither able to beare their armoure, nor go forwardes, ſo that they ſeamed then moſte happy that hadde gotten no water at all, for ſuche as had taken of it inordinatelye; were enforced by vomit to put vp the ſame againe. As Alexander carefull in this calamitie ſtode wyth his frendes that were perſwadyng of him to haue reſpecte to hym ſelfe, for that he onelye, and the greatnes of his harte ſhould be reliefe vnto this aduerſitye. There came .ii. ſouldiers, whiche goyng before with ſuch as had taken vp the campe hadde found water, and were caryng of it in bottelles vnto their ſonnes whiche were ſore afflicted for wante of drincke behinde in the armye. When they ſawe the kynge, one of them opened hys bottell, and fillynge a cuppe that he had, preſented water to the kyng, who receiuyng it at his hande, demaũded to whom they caried that water, they ſaid to their ſonnes. Then he reſtored to him the cuppe agayne full as it was geuen him, and ſaied: I wyll not drynke alone, for ſo lyttle can not be deuided emonges vs all. Make you haſte therefore to carye to youre Sonnes that you haue gotten wyth your trauayle. But he traueyled ſo longe, that before nyghte he came to the ryuer of Oxus, the more parte of the armye, not able

Inordinatelie

to

ſo folowe, for feblenes were lefte farre behinde: to the intent therfore that ſuch as folowed after, might know where the Campe was become, he cauſed a fyre to be made in the toppe of an hill, and gaue order that when the vowarde had refreſhed thẽ ſelues with meate and drynke, they ſhould fil their bottels with water, and go backe wyth the ſame to releue their felowes. The breath of ſuch as dronke intemperately cloſed vp, and they dyed immediatlye, the numbre of whom was greater then euer Alexander loſte in enye battayle. But he would neither put of harneys, refreſhe him ſelfe wyth meate or drinke, nor eaſe his body: but ſtode in the way where his army paſſed, not departyng till the laſt man was come into the campe. He watched al that nighte, and paſſed it ouer in great trouble of minde. And the daye that enſued brought no releaſe of his care. For there were neither boates to paſſe the Ryuer wyth all, nor he coulde make enye bridge, ſeynge there was no woode growyng nere at hand, But at length he found out a deuiſe wherunto onelye neceſſitie did driue hym. They toke beaſtes ſkynnes & ſtuffed thẽ full of ſtraw, wherupon they laied theim ſelues, and ſo ſwome ouer the water. Suche as firſte recouered the further ſide, ſtode in ordre of battayle tyll the reaſte were paſſed: by whiche meanes in ſixe dayes he conueyed ouer hys whole armye. Hauyng thus paſſed ouer the Ryuer of Oxus, his purpoſe was to paſſe forwardes in the purſuite of Beſſus, till he vnderſtode ſuche thinges as had chaũſed emõges the Suſians. There was one Spitamenes, whom Beſſus chiefly honored of al his frendes. But there be no benefites that can ſtaye a manne geuen to perfidie and falſehode, which in him was the more tollerable, because he iudged no miſchefe to great

This devyse was excelent yf it were tyme.

Spytamenes conſpyred agaynſt Beſſus.

perfidie and falshode.

for

him that hath ſlayne his Prince. For the reuengyng of Darius was a fayre colour to his offence, but it is to be thought, that his preſent fortune was more enuied, then his doyng by paſte hated. When it was knowen that Alexander had paſſed the Riuer of Oxus, Spitamenes did aſſociate with him in counſaile of his enterpriſe, Dataphernes, and Catenes, whom Beſſus ſpecially truſted. They agreed to the matter more readely then he woulde deſire theim, and takyng to theim .viii. young men that were ſtrong of perſonage, vſed thys kynde of policie. Spitamenes repayred to Beſſus, and gettyng him alone, enfourmed him that he had founde this howe Dataphernes and Catenes had conſpired to deliuer him alyue into Alexanders handes, wheras (he ſaide) he had preuented thē, whiles they were about their purpoſe hauyng taken them both, & put them faſt in priſon. Beſſus then thinkyng him ſelfe much boūd to him for ſo great a good turne, gaue him many thankes. And for the deſire he had to be reuēged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bring thē to him preſence. He cauſed their handes to be bound behinde their backes, & to be brought by ſuch as were priuye to their cōfederacie. Whē they came in Beſſus preſēce, he beheld thē with a fell countenaunce, & roſe vp to haue ſtriken at thē. But they left then their coūterfetyng, & ſtreight wayes encloſynge Beſſus aboute, bounde hym ſtrugglyng in vaine, and pulled the Diademe from his head, tearyng his garment from his backe, which ſometyme belonged to his prince, whom he had ſlayne. When he ſawe him ſelfe in this caſe, he confeſſed that the Gods had rightfullye reuenged his treaſon, and perceyued by the plague they ſente him, that bothe they fauoured Darius, and were frendes to Alexander, whoſe enemies

Dataphernes.
Cathenes.

He that by treason
had betrayed
his Soveraigne,
by treason was
betrayed him
ſelf.

mies euermore preferred hys victory. It is vncertayn whether the multitude would haue aſſiſted Beſſus or no, but that Spitamenes had deuiſed the thyng to be done by Alexanders appoyntment, whereby he put them in feare beyng yet doubtfull of mynde, and ſet Beſſus vpon an horſe, wherupon he brought hym vnto Alexander. He in the meane ſeaſō had choſen out nyne hundred ſuch as by reaſon of their age, were not mete for the warres, & gaue to euery horſeman two talentes and to euery footeman, thre thouſand deneres. That done he diſpatched them home, and gaue thankes vnvnto the reſte, becauſe they promiſed to continue wyth hym tyll he hadde brought hys warres to an ende.

Branchidās

Beſſus was preſented vnto hym at a litle towne wherof the inhabiters be called Branchidans, whyche in tymes paſte by the commaundement of Xerxes when he came out of Greace, were brought from Miletum and placed there, becauſe that in his fauour they hadde violated a temple called Dydyma. They had not all together forgotten their countrey cuſtomes, but hadde myxed their tongue whyche by litle and lytle were fallen from their owne language, and yet had not attayned the countrey ſpeache. They receyued the king wyth greate ioye, yealdynge them ſelues and theyr citye vnto hys wyll.

Mileſians

Whereupon he called vnto hym the Mileſians that ſerued hym in hys warres, (who bare an auncient hatred agaynſte the generacion of the Branchidans) & put it in their hādes to determine where they would ſaue them for the countrey ſake, or els deſtroye them for the iniurie they had done in tymes paſt. But when the Mileſyans coulde not agre in opinion, he ſayed he woulde ordre the matter hym ſelfe. The next daye when the Branchidans came to mete him, he returned them all againe into the citye, & commaunded his fotemen to encloſe the citye about, entered wyth ſuche as he appointed for the purpoſe, and by a token geuen, put all to the ſwerde, and ſpoyled the Citye as a receptable of traytours. They beyng without armoure and vnprouided, were ſlayne in euerye place. For neither the affinitye of their tongue, nor enye prayer or interceſſion coulde mitigate their enemies crueltye, whiche after the deſtruction of the towne, did caſte downe the walles to the grounde, ſo that no memorye therof ſhould remaine. That done they did not onelye cut downe the woodes wherin they vſed their ſacrifice, but alſo plucked vp the trees by the rootes that the ground might be left barrayne as a deſerte. If the ſame thinges had bene done agaynſte the very offenders, the reuenge might haue bene thought righteous, but to lay the fault of the predeceſſours vpō the poſteritye, it myght be thought a cruell acte, ſeyng there was not eny of them that hadde euer ſene Myletum, or done to Xerxes eny kind of pleaſure. As Alexāder remoued from thence towardes the ryuer of Tanays. Beſſus was brought before him, not only bound as a captiue, but alſo ſpoyled of all his garmentes, whō Spitamenes led in a cheine put about his necke: a pleaſaunt ſight to beholde as well to the barbarous as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come wyth him into Alexanders preſence, he ſaied: I haue brought here vnto you the kyller of his owne maiſter, after the ſame maner that he him ſelfe gaue the example, wherin I haue both reuenged Darius that was my king and you alſo that now haue gote the ſouerayntie. Let Darius open his eyes and riſe from death to beholde this ſight, that was vnworthy of ſuch an ende, and worthye

Receptacle.

Beſſus preſented vnto Alexander.

to re-

Alexander to Beſſus.

Offendors them neither contemne nor geuen to be ſpeake, when their fault is laid vnto them.

to receyue ſuche a comforte as this is. After that Alexander had geuē Spitamenes thankes, he turned him ſelfe vnto Beſſus, and ſaied: What beaſtlye woodnes moued the to take thyne owne prince priſoner, and afterwardes to kill him, hauyng ſo well deſerued of the, of which thy doynges thou haſt receyued ſufficient reward, by vſurpyng of the counterfeite name of a king. He had no harte to make aunſwere, nor excuſe his offence, ſauynge that he ſayed: he toke vpon him to be Kynge, becauſe he myght deliuer him poſſeſſion of the countrey, whiche thing if he hadde omitted, ſome other he ſaid, would haue taken in hand. Thē Alexander called for Oxatres Darius brother, whom he had placed about his Perſone, and committed Beſſus to his keapyng, to thentent he ſhoulde cutte of his eares and his noſe, and hange him vpon a croſſe, cauſynge hys owne men to ſhote him through with arowes, and ſo preſerue his body that birdes ſhould not touche it. Oxatres promiſed to perfourme all the reſte, ſauynge the keapyng awaye of the byrdes, whiche for the deſire he had to ſet forth Cathenes cunnyng, affirmed that none could ſo well kepe them awaye as he, who did ſhote ſo aſſuredly, that he coulde ſtrike the birdes flying in the ayre. And thoughe it was a cunnyng not ſo much to be marueyled at in a nacion ſo experte in ſhotyng, yet was it greatly wondred at of ſuche as did beholde him, & was great honoure vnto the doer. He gaue rewardes to all ſuch as were the bryngers of Beſſus, but he deferred his puniſhment, bicauſe he minded to put him to death in the ſame place where he ſlewe Darius. The Macedons in the meane ſeaſon goyng a forragyng without ordre, were ouerthrowen by their Enemies that came runnyng downe from the next moūtaines. They toke

moe

mo then they did kille, & dryuing their priſoners before them retired againe to the mounteines. There were of thẽ to the nombre of .xx. M. which accuſtumid to liue by theft, vſed ſlinges and bowes in their fight, whome whiles Alexãder did beſiege, and in a ſkirmiſh preſſid forth with the formoſt, he was ſtrekẽ with an arrowe in the middes of his legge, where the hed ſticked ſtil. The Macedõs that were ſorowful and amaſid for their kinges hurt, caried him into hys campe, of whoſe departure out of the feild hys enemies were not ignoraunt, for they might behold al thynges from the mounteine. The next day they ſent embaſſadours vnto Alexãder, whom he admitted to his preſence, and vnfolding his wound, wherby he thought to diſſymule the greatnes therof, ſhewed his legge vnto thẽ. when they were cõmaũdid to ſit downe, they ſaid: that hering of his hurte, they were as ſorowful for it as his owne ſubiectes, whiche ſhould wel be knowen, for if they could find out the pſone, that did the deade, he ſhould be deliuerid vnto his handes, they could not (they ſaid) iudge thẽ but ſacrileges that would fight with gods, of whoſe vertue thei ſuppoſid him to be, & therfore were determined to yeld thẽ ſelues. Therupõ he gaue thẽ aſſurãce & receyuing againe his men that were takẽ priſoners, admitted thẽ as his ſubiectes. That done he remoued his campe and was caried in a foote litter for the bearing wherof the horſemẽ & foote men cõtẽdid together. The horſmen alledged it to be their office, bicauſe, the king accuſtomed to fight emõges thẽ. And the footemẽ argued for their parte, that in aſmuche as they vſed to cary the hurt ſouldiers, thei thought no reaſon their office ſhould be takẽ from

Alexander wounded in the thigh with an arrowe.

The horsemen and fotemen contended, who should carye the grete kinge them, chiefly whā the kyng ſhould be caried. Alexāder therfor in ſo great acōtentiō of both partes thought it a difficult matter to geue ſentēce, becauſe the iudgemēt ſhould be greuous to them ẏ ſhould be put frō the office, ⁊ therfore ordred that they ſhould cary hym by courſe. Frō thēce ẏ fourth day he came vnto a cite called Maracāda, the walles wherof were .lxx. furlōges about, but the caſtle was ẇout eny wal, he ſet a guarriſon in the citie ⁊ then burned ⁊ deſtroied the coūtrey ther aboutes. Embaſſadours came vnto him thether frō the Scythes called Auians, whiche had ben free ſince the tyme that Cyrus was emonges thē, but yet they ſhewed thē ſelues thē redy to be at his cōmaūdemēt. They were knowē to be the moſt rightuous people of al the barbarus natiōs, as men ẏ neuer vſed to make warre but when they were prouoked, whoſe moderaciō ⁊ tēperaūce in vſig of their libertie, made the inferriours equal vnto the ſuperiours. Alexander receiued them gētly, and ſent Penidas a frend of his to thoſe Scithes that inhabited within Europe, to forbid thē to paſſe the riuer of Tanais wythout his appointment. who had alſo a ſecreate commiſſiō to viewe the ſcituaciō of the coūtrey, ⁊ to viſit thoſe Scithiās ẏ inhabited about Boſphorus. He willed hī beſides to choiſe out a place vpon the brinke of Thanais, where as he might build a citie, to remain as aforters for ẏ ſubduing of thoſe people ẏ he entended to viſite. But this deuiſe was delayed by the rebelliō of ẏ Sogdiās who had alſo drawen the Bactriās to their part. There were of thē .vii.M. horſmen, whoſe auctorite the reſt folowed, for the aduaūtig of whom Alexāder cauſed Spytamenes ⁊ Catenes (the betrayers of Beſus) to be ſēt for thinking by their meanes to

Maracāda.

The Scythians.

Of all the barbarous nations, the Scythians were most moderate and temperate.

Penidas

Scituation

The rebellion of the Sogdiās.

bringe

bring the coũtrey agayn to his obediẽce, & to ſubdue ſuch as had made this ſturre. But they whiche were iudged mete to ſtay the rebellion, & were ſent for that intent, were the chief aucthours of al the reuolt. For they cauſed it to be noiſed abrode, yͭ Alexãder had ſet for the Bactrian horſemẽ of purpoſe to kill them all. which cõmiſſion (they ſayd) being appointed to them they would not execute, becauſe they thought it ouer foul an act to cõmit againſt their coũtreymẽ. And for that cauſe could as il beare thẽ Alexãders crueltie, as in times paſt Beſſus treaſon. By this meanes when feare of death was put into theyr heades, they were eaſely ſturred to armes, which before were ſufficientlye enclyned of their owne myndes. when Alexander was aduertiſid of their doiges, he willed Craterus to beſeige Cyropolis. And he him ſelf wãne an other city Ciropolis of that countrey by an aſſault which he gaue to it on al partes at once, and by a ſigne geuen cauſed all the children to be put to death, making the reſt a pray for the ſouldiers. Thꝭ done yͤ cite was raſed to the groũd to thintent yͭ others by their enſãple might be kepte in obediẽce. There was a valiaũt people called Memacenans, Memacenans who were determyned to abide the ſiege, not onlye for their honeſties ſake, but alſo for yͭ they thought it moſte for their ſuertie. For the mitigating of whoſe wilfulnes the king ſent to them fifty horſemen to declare his clemency towardes ſuche as ſubmitted them ſelues, and howe inexorable he was to Inexorable ſuche as he wanne by force. Their anſwere was, that they neither doubted of the kynges promis, nor of his power, but after their anſwere geuẽ, they lodged thẽ without their wallis, where as enterteyning thẽ with great chere til it was the deape of the night, they ſet vpon thē, and ſlewe them all. Alexander was no leſſe mould with this matter, then the caſe required but made an aſſault vnto the cytie on all partes at once, whiche he found furniſſhed in ſuche wyſe, that he could not take it at the firſt attempt. wherfore he appointed Meleager and Perdcas to the ſiege therof, whiche then were beſiegyng of Ciropolis, mynding to ſpare the ſame, becauſe it was builded by Cirus. For he had not ſo great adniracion of any king that had reygned in thoſe partes as of him, & Semiramis: whoſe magnanimite of mynde, and tame of her actes, ſeamed to him to excede all the reſt. But the obſtinate wilfulnes of the inhabitaūtes, ſturred vp his wrath. For when he had taken the citie, he willed the Macedons to ſpoyle it, which had great cauſe to be moued agaynſt thē, & ſo returned agayne to Meleager & Perdicas. There was not one cytie that did more valiaūtly abyde the ſiege, thē the ſame did, for both the hardieſt of the ſouldiers were ſlayn and the kinge was brought in great daunger, being ſtrikē in the necke with a ſtone, ſo that his ſight fayled him, and was fellyd to the earth ſo that he loſt hys ſence. The army lamentid, thinking he had ben dead: but he was inuincible ageinſt thoſe thynges, which put other mē moſte in feare. For without tarieng he dreſſed his wounde, returnyng to the fyght & after anger had ſturred vp the egernes he had of nature, he renuid the aſſault ageine more fierſely thē before. At length a great peece of the wall was ouer throwen by a myne, at the whiche he brake in, and put the whole cytie to ſacke and to ruyne. He ſent from thēce Menedemus with .iii. M. fotemen and viii. C. horſemen to the citie of Maracanda, whych

Spitamenes

Spytamenes had newly taken, and put out frõ thẽce the guarriſon of the Macedõs, yet the citeſens were not of this opynion, but when they ſawe they coulde not wͭſtand him, it was of neceſſite for them to agree to his wil. Alexãder in the meane ſeaſon came to the riuer of Thanais, where he encloſed about with a wal ſo much groũde as his campe did conteine, extẽdyng in compaſſe .lx. furlonges, and named the ſame citie Alexandria. This thing was done with ſuch expedicion that within .xvii. daies after the walles were vp, the houſes alſo were builded. And the whole was ꝑfourmed in a very ſmale ſeaſõ, through the contenciõ amonges the ſouldiers, who ſhoulde perfourme his worke firſt, when the ſame was deuided into porciõs amonges them. Their priſoners (whoſe raunſomes Alexander paid to their takers,) were appointed to inhabite this citie. The diſcent of whom after ſo longe time ar not yet worne out: ſuch fauour hath bene ſhewed to thẽ, in the memorye of Alexander. The kinge of Scythia whoſe Empire was thẽ beyond the riuer of Tanais, iudging that the fortyfiẽg vpon the riuers ſyde, ſhould be as a yocke to his neck, ſent his brother Carcaſys with a great power of horſemen to defeate the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedons from the waters ſyde. That ryuer deuideth the Bactryans from the Scythiãs of Europe and is the lymyte which parteth Aſia and Europe a ſõdre. But the coũtreis that the Scithes inhabyte ſtretche as farre, as Tracia, & lie betwixt the north & the eſt, ioynyng with Sarmacya, & poſſeſſing part of it. The countrey alſo that lieth beyõd the ryuer of Iſter is inhabited by thẽ: their vttermoſt boũdes ſtretching to Bactria, and to the further boũdes of Aſia northwardes, wheras be

Alexander builded an new citie vpõ Tanais.

Carcaſis.

Iſter.

Alexāders wordes to his friēdes

Aduerſite maketh mē religious.

Auruſpices

wonderful great woods & wild deſertes, But ſuche of them as bounded nere vnto Tanais & Bactria lackyd not much the ciuilitie of other nacion. This being the firſt tyme that Alexāder had to do with theſe people, when he ſaw that thē he had to entre into a warre, for the whiche he was not prouided, his enemies rydyng vp & downe in hys ſyght, and he diſeaſed of hys woūd, ſpecially not hauing thuſe of his ſpeach, which faylyd much by reaſon of hys longe abſtinēce, and the payne in his necke called hys friendes to counſell, & declared vnto thē: that he was not trubled with eny fear of his enemies but with the iniqutye of the tyme the Bactirians rebelling & the Scithians prouoking hī, when neyther he was able to ſtand vpon the ground, ſtrōg ynough to ryde on horſbacke, or in caſe to gyue aduiſe or exhortacion to hys men. In conſideracion therfore of the doubtful dāger he ſaw him ſelf wrapt in, he accuſed the gods, complaynyng that he was thē enforſed to lye ſtyll as a ſtocke, whoſe ſwiftnes before tyme, none was hable to eſcape. The matters grue ſo great that hys owne men beleaued he had counterfeited his ſicknes for feare. And therfore he which ſince the ouerthrowe of Darius had left conſultacion with the deuiners and prophetes, turned hym ſelfe againe to the vanyty & ſupperſtició of mā, willing Ariſtander to whom he was addicted in beliefe) that he ſhoulde trye out by Sacrifice what his ſucceſſe ſhould be. The cuſtome of them which were called Auruſpices was to conſyder the intrayles of the beaſtes wythout the kynge, and to make report to hym of there ſignificion. In the meane ſeaſon whyles they were ſerchynge ſecreates that way, he wylled Epheſtion, Craterus, Erigius and other hys freindes to draw nere about him,

elſe

by ſtreynynge of hys voyce he myght breake oute hys word agayn, and ſayd thus vnto them: The daunger I am in, hath cauſed the tyme to ſerue better for mine enemies, then for me, neceſſitie I ſee chiefly in the warres to go before reaſon. For it is ſeldome geuen to men to choyſe their owne tyme. The Bactrians be reuolted vpon whoſe ſhoulders yet we ſtande, purpoſynge to trie what courage we be of, by our behauour towardes the Scithians. If we leaue of with doubtful fortune, and meddle not wyth thē, whych of their owen mindes haue prouoked vs, we ſhal at our retourne be had in contempt of them whome we entend to viſyt. But if we ſhall paſſe the riuer of Tanais, and by the deſtruction of the Scythians and ſheddyng of theyr bloud, ſhewe our ſelues inuincible euerye where. who will then doubt but that Europe wyll lye open and geue obedience to vs being vyctorers? he is deceyued that doth meaſure by eny diſtaunce the bōdes of the glorye we entend to paſſe. There is but one ryuer that letteth vs nowe for bringing of our power ouer into Europe, which if we ſhall bring to paſſe, what an eſtimaciō ſhal it be for vs: whiles we be ſubduing of Aſia, to ſet vp the monumentes of our victories as it were in a newe world, ioyning ſo ſone together wyth one victory, the thyng that nature ſeame to haue deuyded wyth ſo great diſtaunce: but if we ſhall ſtay neuer ſo little & geue groūd, the Scythians wil thē com after vs, & purſue vs in yͤ taile. Be there no more but we yͭ haue paſſed riuers? there be many inuenciōs yet remaynyng emōges our ſelues, wherby we haue gottē victories. But fortune of the warre doth teache polycy to ſuche as be ouer comme, we haue ſhewed a preſydent of late, howe to ſwymme ouer ryuers vpon bot-

Alexanders wordes.

Man can not
appoynt vnto
ſelf any thinge
that he desyreth
for all thinge
knowen to
god before a-
poynted.

tels. Which thynge if the Scythians can not doe, the Bactrians ſhall teache them. It is but the power of one nacion, that nowe come againſt you, al the other yet ſtande in a ſtay to vnderſtande of our doings. So that by eſchewyng battaill we ſhall noryſh warre, and be compellyd to receyue thoſe blowes, which lie in vs to to geue to other. The reaſon of my aduiſe is manyfeſt. But whether the Macedons will ſuffre me to vſe myne owne diſpoſiciō, I doubte, becauſe that ſice I receiued this wound, I haue not ridden on horſeback, nor gone on foote. If you will folowe me my frendes I am whole, I haue thē ſtrength ynough to endure theſe thynges. And if thende of my life be at hande, wherin can I ſpende it better. Theſe wordes that he ſpake were vttered with a broken and weake voice, ſo that they could ſcarſelie be hard of ſuch as were next him. But when his meaning was perceiued, all that were preſent wente aboute to ſtaye him from ſo raſhe an enterprice. But Erygius wrought chiefly in the matter, which perceyuinge that his authoritie coulde not preuaile againſt the kinges obſtinate minde, attēpted to worcke him by relygiō, which he iudged of greater force. For he declared that the Goddes were againſt his determynacion, which had ſignified great perill to enſue, if he paſſed the riuer. (He ſaid) he had vnderſtand that thinge by Ariſtander, who tolde hym at his cominig into the pauylion what he had perceiued in the beaſtes intrayles. Alexāder vpon his wordes was vnderfully troubled both with anger and ſhame, when he ſawe the ſecreates of the religiō brought to light, which he thought to haue kept ſecret to him ſelfe: & therfore cauſed Erygius to go aſide, and Ariſtander to bee called in vnto him.

Erigius

Obstinate & myndes seldome receyve good counsell.

whome he beheld in the face, & ſaide: I ſeame to the rather a priuate man then a kinge. I commaunded the to make ſacrifice, and thou haſte declaryd the ſignyfycation therof to other and not to me. For Erigius by thy report knoweth the preuities perteyning to me. But ſure I iudge that through his owne feare he deuyſed an interpretacion of him ſelfe. Therefore let me heare of thine owne mouth what thou haſte found in the intrayles, to thintent thou ſhalt not deny that thou haſt ſpoken. Ariſtander thereupon was a maſed, & loked pale not able to anſwere one worde for feare. But at length the ſame feare that made him hold his peace, pricked him forwardes to ſpeake, leſt the prolonging of the kinges expectacion might prouoke him to further wrath, anſwered: I ſayde (quod he) there was in the enterpriſe great daunger and diffycultie, but yet that your attempte ſhoulde not be in vaine. Ther is nothīg yͤ I haue perceiued by my ſciēce trouble me ſo much, as the loue I beare to you wardes, for I both conſider your infirmytie, & what amoment conſiſteth in your owne perſone, fearing you ſhould not be able to endure the thinges, that fortune is diſpoſed to geue vnto you, whē Alexāder hard hī ſpeake after that maner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felycytie, to whom fortune hadde graunted glory in greater thinges, & therupō diſmiſſed him. Afterwardes as the king was debating with ſuch as he conſultyd with before, by what meanes he ſhulde paſſe the riuer, Ariſtander came emonges them, affirming that he had founde the intrailes contrary to yͤ he did before, wich as likely ſignes of good ſucceſſe as eny yͤ euer he ſaw, ſhewing them as greate cauſes to reioiſe, as he did before to feare. But immediatly here

upon

vpon Alexāder receiued newes ẏ much appaired the cōtinuall felicitie he was wont to haue, in al his proceedinges. Menedemus beig ſent (as it hath bene ſaid before) to beſiege Spitamenes, the auctour of ẏ Bactrians rebelliō. when he vnderſtode of hys enemies cōming both in auoiding to be encloſed within walles, & truſting beſides to take ſome aduaūtage of the Macedōs, laid an imbuſhemente to entrappe them. There was a wood through the which they ſhoulde paſſe very apt for the purpoſe, where he laid the Dahans, whoſe cuſtome was to cary two armed menne vpon one horſe, from whēce they vſed to leape downe by courſe. And by reaſon the ſwyftnes of the footemen was litle inferiour vnto the horſmen, they troubled greatly the ordre of the horſmans fight. Spitamenes gaue ordre to them, that when their enemies ſhuld enter in to the wood, they ſhould enuiron them about on all ſides, whiche whē they perfourmed according to their appointmente. Menedemus ſeinge him ſelfe encloſed on al partes, & not equall in nombre vnto his enemies, reſiſted a great while, cryēg out to the ſouldiers, that there remayned no hope to thē being intrapt after that maner, but by makig ſlaughter vpon their enemies, receiue the comfort of an honeſt death. Menedemus rid vpon a ſtrong horſe charging oft times vpon his enemyes, whereby he brake their ordre, and made great ſlaughter, till ſuche tyme that he being laid at on all partes, receyued manye woundes, and faynted for want of bloud. Thē he exhorted Hiſpides that was one of hys frēdes to leape vpō his horſe, and eſcape away, and with that worde he ſwoūded & fel to the groūd frō his horſe. Hiſpides might haue got away, but after he had loſt his frende

Hiſpydes.

determined there to die, takīg no other care but howe to ſpend his life, with loſſe of his enemies. Wherfore he put his ſpores to the horſe, & ran in amonges thē, where he fought notably, & at length was ſlaine. Whē the reſt ſaw thys ouerthrow, & loſſe of their captayne, they recouered an hyl, where Spitamées did beſiege thē thīkīg to ſubdue thē for wāt of vitail. Ther were ſlaine in ẏ battail two.m. fotemē, & .iii. hūdred horſmē. Which miſaduēture Alexander with great policie kept ſecret, commaunding them that parted from the field, vnder payne of death not publyſh thys matter abrode. But when he could not beare out eny lenger a countenaunce contrary to his harte, he went alone vnto his pauilion which he had ſet of purpoſe vpon the riuers ſide. There he waked all the nyght deuiſīg with hī ſelf, what was beſt to doe. And diuers tymes he lifted vp his tent to beholde the fires in his enemies campe, therby to coniecture their nombre. Whē the day appeared he put on a corſelet & came forth emongſt the ſouldiers, beīg the firſt time they had ſene hī ſince he receiued his hurt. They bare ſuche a veneraciō vnto their kinge ẏ with his preſence onlye, they put away the remēbraunce of the feare which cauſed them before to ſhrinke, & reioyſed ſo hartely, ẏ when they ſaluted hym the teares diſtilled from their eyes, and earneſtlye required the fyghte, whiche before, they had refuſed. He toke ordre there emonges them that the horſemen, & ſuch as were of the ſquare battaill of footemen ſhoulde be caried ouer in boates, & ẏ the light armed ſhould ſwimme vpon bottels. Neither the matter required eny more to be ſpoken, nor the kīg could not ſay much more by reaſō of his infirmitie. For the ſouldiers went about the matter with

ſuch

ſuche good will & cherefulnes of minde, that within thre dayes they had finyſhed .xii. M. boates. when all thinges were prepared in redines for their paſſage, there came .xx. embaſſeaoturs of the Scythiās riding by the cāpe, which required that it might be declared vnto the king that they had matter in commyſſion to declare vnto hym. whē they were receiued into his pauilion, and commaūded to ſit downe, they fixed their loke continually vpon the kinges countenance, whereby it was thought, that waying the greatnes of his courage by his perſonage that they ſawe preſente, it appeared to them but ſmal in reſpecte of the fame thei hearde of hym. The wittes of the Scythians be not rude and without knowledge as other barbarous people be. For it is ſayd that many of thē atteyne to ſuch learning as is poſſible for a nacion being alwayes in exerciſe of the warres. whoſe wordes ſpoken vnto Alexander be left in memorie, which though they differ from the maner of vs that haue happenyd in more cyuil times, and frampd our ſelues to a more humanite, yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be deſpiſed, though the phraſe of their ſpeach be not alowed. And therfore I ſhal declare vncorruptlye the ſayinges whiche the eldeſt of thoſe Embaſſadours dyd ſpeake after this maner. If the Goddes had geuen the a bodye according to the vnſaciable deſire of thy mind, the world ſhould not be able to receiue the, but ſhuldeſt touche yͤ Orient with one hād, & the occidēt wͭ the other: which thing ones obteined, thy care ſhuld be to become equal to the goddes. Thus thou doeſt couet the thinge, thou art not able to compaſſe. From Europe thou goeſt into Aſia, and from Aſya paſſeſt into Europe.

The oracion of the Scithiās vnto Alexander.

It muſt come to paſſe that if thou ouercome al mankynde, thou muſt kepe warre with woodes and ſnowes, with riuers, and wilde beaſtes. What art thou ignorant that trees do growe till they be great, and thē be plucked vp from the rote in a moment. He is a foole that doth couet the frute, and conſidereth not the height of the tree wheron it groweth. Take hede leſt whiles thou doeſt labour to atteine vnto yͤ toppe, thou falleſt with the boowes which yͧ doeſt embrace. The Lion hath bene ſome tyme the foode of ſmalle byrdes, and the ruſte doth cōſume the Irō. There is nothyng ſo ſure, that is not in daunger of his inferiour. What haue we to do with yͤ, we neuer touched thy countrey. Is it not lawfull for vs that lyue in the waſt woodes, to be ignorant what thou arte, and from whence thou cummeſt, we can neyther be ſubiect to eny mā, nor deſire to rule ouer eny creature. And bycauſe ye ſhal not be ignorant of the ſtate of our naciō, we haue certayne giftes in proper vnto vs, the yocke of Oxē, the plough, the ſpeare, the bowe, & the bowle: which be the thinges that we vſe both with our frendis, and againſt our enemies. We do giue vnto frēdis of the frutes gottē wyth our labour. With the bowle we ſacrefice wyne vnto the goddes. With the bowe we ſtrike our enemies afarre of, and wyth the ſpeare nere at hand. After yͤ ſort we in tymes paſt ouercame the king of Scythia, and afterwardes the king of Perce and Media, makig the way opē to vs into Egipt. But thou which doeſt gloryfie, that art come to be a perſecutour of theues, art a robber of all nacions, that thou cūmeſt emonges. Thou haſte taken Lydia, poſſeſſyd Siria, enioyed Perce, and haſte the Bactrians vnder thy power.

Trees growe till
the be greate, &
then are cut down
euen in a moment
they are fooles that
couet the frute &
considerethe not the
height of the tree
that it groweth
on. The clymer
falleth wt the
bowes wch he
clyppeth in his
handes. Some
tyme the lyon
is fode for smale
birdes. And ye
ruste dothe con=
sume yorne.

Thou doſt viſite the indies, & nowe ſtreacheſt furth thy rauenowes handes vnto our cattel. why doeſt ỹ couet that riches, that cauſeth the to be poore: Thou art the firſt of al mẽ which with haboundaunce haſt prepared thy ſelfe honger and that wyth the more thou haſt, the more gredely thou doiſt couet the thinges thou haſt not. Doiſt thou not remẽbre how long thou haſte ſticked aboute Bactria: And whiles thou goeſt about to ſubdue them, how the Sogdians begyn to rebell. Thus warre dothe growe vnto the of thy victorie. For be thou neuer ſo great, and puyſant aboue eny other, yet ther be none that cã endure to be gouerned by ſtraungers. Paſſe nowe Tanais, thou ſhalt perceyue what breadth it beareth, and yet thou ſhalt neuer ouertake the Scithians whoſe pouertie is ſwifter, then thy army, carying the ſpoile of ſo many nacions. For when thou ſhalt thinke vs to be farre of, thou ſhalt ſee vs within thy Campe, wyth like ſwiftnes, we folow, and flee awaye. I heare that our deſertis be ſkorned by the Greake prouerbes, we couet rather thoiſe deſertys and places vnhabited, then cieties and plentifull countreys. Therfore hold thou thy fortune faſt, for ſhe is ſlipper and cannot be kept agaynſt hir will. Folow thou the counſayl that is good, ſpecially whiles the time doth ſerue. Put a bridle to thy felicitye, and thou ſhalte gouerne it the better. we ſaye that fortune is without feete, & that ſhe hath only hands, & winges but when ſhe putteth furthe her hande, ſhe will not ſuffre hir winges to be touched. If thou be a god, then geue benefites vnto mortal mẽ, and take not away the commodities they they haue alredy. If thou be a man conſider alwaye thine owne eſtate. It is folyſh to remẽbre thoſe thin-

ges

As Alexander
wonne one natio,
an other rebelled
from hym; so
that he could
never make all
obey that he
overcame.

Fortune is slippe;
and sone slideth
awaie, & tyme
tarrieth nobody.

ges, whiche cauſe the to forget thy ſelfe. Such as by warre thou makeſt, thy enemies: by peace thou maiſt make them thy verie frendes. The moſt firme frēdſhip is emōgeſt them that be equall, and they ſeme equal, which haue not yet made eny trial of the force. Take hede thou take them not for thy frendes, whom thou doeſt ſubdue and bring to ſubiectiō. Ther is no frendſhip betwene the Lord & the ſlaue, and in peace the law of armes is obſeruyd. Thynke not that the Scythians do confirme their frendſhippe with enye othe. For they thinke they ſweare in kepinge of theyr faith. The cuſtome of the Greakes is to iuſtify their doynges by callinge their Goddes to witneſſe. But we acknowledge Religiō to conſiſt in the faith it ſelfe. They which do not their due reuerēce to mē, deceiue the Gods. Thinke not thoſe frendys to be neceſſary vnto the, of whoſe good wil thou ſhalt nede to doubt Thou maiſt vſe vs as kepers both of Europe and Aſia. For we ſhould ioyne with Bactria, but that Tanais dothe deuide vs, and beyound Tanais our dominion ſtretcheth ſo farre as Tracia, & the ſame is Tracia cōfineth wͭ Macedon. Conſider therfore whether it be neceſſary for the or no, to haue vs as frēdes or foes to bothe thine empires. Theſe were the Scythians wordes, to whome the king made aunſwere: yͭ he would both vſe his owne fortune, and their coūſayle which aduiſed him well. He would folow his fortune (he ſaid) becauſe he had great cōfidēce in it, & other mens counſaile, becauſe he would do nothing raſhly, nor vpon a ſodaine. Therupon the diſmiſſed the Embaſſadoures & enbarked his armie in the boates he had preparid. In the fore partes of the boates he ſet ſuch as had targettes, willīg thē to knele vpon their

As there is no frendshipp betwene the lorde and the slaue, euen so is there no [illegible] ~~frendshipp~~ betwene them.

Then that vse good councell, seldome do any thinge rasshli or vpon the soden.

Alexander paſſed the riuer of Thanais egainſt the Sithians.

their knees for their more ſaufegarde agaynſte the ſhote of arrowes. And they were placed behind thē that had the charge of the Engines, who before, and on both ſides were encloſyd with armed men. The reſt which ſtode beyonde the engynes beying armed them ſelues, defended with targettes ſuch as rowed. The ſame ordre was alſo obſeruid in thoſe boates ẏ caried ouer the horſmen. The more part drue their horſes after thē by the reynes ſwimming at the boates tailes, and ſuch as were caried vpō truſſes filled with ſtraw, were defendid by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexāder with ſuch men as he had choſen to be about his perſone, firſt lanched from the land, & directed his courſe towardes the further ſide. The Scythians came agaynſt thē with their horſemē in ordre of battaill, ſtandyng vpon the brincke of the further ſhore to let their landing: whoſe ſhew beig a terrour to ẏ Macedōs, they had alſo an other cauſe of feare in their paſſing ouer for the boatemaiſters were not able to keape theyr courſe agaynſt the force of the ſtreame. And the ſouldiers ſwaying to and fro, for the doubte they had to fall in the water, troubled the maryners in doing of their office. By reaſon wherof the Macedons could not haue ſcoope to caſte their dartes with eny force, taking more care how to place them ſelues out of perill, then for to anoye their enemies. Their engyns ſtode thē in great ſteade, whych ſeldome did ſhote in vaine againſt their enemies that ſtode thicke before them, proffering to reſiſte thir lāding. When the Scithians ſawe them nere the ſhore, they did ſhote an infinite nombre of arrowes into the boates, ſo ẏ there was not i maner eny target ẏ had not many heades

Brinke.

Scoope

ſticking

ſtickig in it. At length the boates arriued at the lād. thē the target men did riſe vpon their feete, and hauinge more ſcope & ſure footing, threwe their dartes more certainly & wͭ greater force: wherby perceiuing their enemies to ſhrinke, & reane backe their horſes, they then leaped cherefully vnto the land, one exhorting & encourging an other, & frelye purſued them in whom they ſawe falle oute of arraye. By that tyme Alexanders horſmen which had aſſembled them ſelues in tropes, brake vpō their ennemies, & put thē to great dyſordre. In the meane ſeaſon the reſte beinge defendyd by them that were fighting, landyd & prepared them ſeluys to the battayl. Nor Alexander letted not with ſtowtnes of courage to ſuplye the impotency of his bodye. His voyce coulde not be hard whē he ſpake and exhorted his men (the ſcarre of his wound not yet cloſed) but al men might ſe him fighting. wherfore euery one vſed the office of a captaine in giuing exhortacion vnto his fellowes, and ran vpon their ennemies without reſpecte of their owne liues. Then the Sythians could not endure eny lenger the countenance, the force, nor the crye of their enemyes, but beinge all on horſback flede awaye vpon the ſpoores. whome the king purſued .iiii. ſcore furlonges, notwithſtanding that with greate payne he enduryd his infirmite. when his hart fainted he cōmaunded hys men that they ſhould folow ſtill in the chace ſo longe as the daye laſted, and not hauing ſtrength to ſuſteine eny further trauaile returned into his camp to reſt him ſelf. The Macedons in their purſuite paſſed the boundes of Bacchus. In monumente of whome theyr were greate ſtones ſet vp by equall diſtaunce, and high trees, whoſe ſtockes were couered ouer with Iuye. But no boundes could be a ſtay to the Macedons, beinge caryed forwardes in there fury, for it was midde nighte before they returned againe to their campe, who hauing killed many, and taken great nombre of priſoners, dyd dryue before them .M.viii.c. horſes. There were ſlayne of the Macedōs .lx. horſmen, of the footemē to the poynt of one hundred, & a thouſand of them were hurte. This enterpriſe with the fame of the victorye fallinge in ſo good a ſeaſō, kept the more part of Aſia in obedience, which was of the point to haue rebelled. For they beleuyd that the Scythians were inuincible: who being veinqueſhed, they iudged no naciōs hable to withſtand the powre of the Macedōs. The Sacans therfore after this victory, ſent ther Embaſſadours vnto Alexāder offring them ſelues to come vnder his obedience. To the doing wherof they were not ſo greatlie moued with feare of his force, as they wer with report of the clemēcy he vſed towardes the Scythiās after he had diſcōfited thē. For he deliuered home al their priſoners, without raunſome, to witnes to the world that he made warre with thoſe fyerſe nacions to ſhew his powre, & his vertue, & not for eny malice nor to ſhewe his wrath vpon thē. That was ẏ cauſe that he ſo gently receiued the Embaſſadours of the Sacans: cauſing Excipinus to accōpany them who being a beutyfull young mā in the firſt flowre of his youth, was in that reſpect in great fauoure, and familiaritie with Alexāder. In perſonage he was like Epheſtiō, but inferior to hī in pleaſaūtnes of ſpeach. After this Alexander giuinge ordre to Craterus to folow hym by ſmall iorneis with the greater parte of his armye he him ſelfe came to the citie of Mara-

Jnuincible

Sacans.

Excipinus

lands from whence Spitamenes that harde of his cõmyng, was flede into Bactria. The kinge therfore making great iourneyes foure dayes continuallye, came into the place, where as vnder the conducte of Menedemus he had loſt two.m.fotem:n & .iii.C. horſemen. whoſe bones he cauſed to be gathered togithers, celebrating their their funeralles after his contrey maner. By that tyme Craterus with the phalãx was come vnto the kinge, and to thintent he myghte puniſhe with the ſword all ſuche as had rebellyd, he deuided his powre into diuerſe partes, commaundĩg them to burne in euery place where they wente & to kyll al the children. The cõutrey of the Sogdians for the more parte is waſt, by reaſon of the great deſertes that ſtretch ouerthuart the countrey. The riuer called Polytimetum paſſed in maner throughe the lengthe of yt, which ronneth a ſpace violently in a narow chanel, and then is receyued into an hole of the earth, frõ whence it goeth vnderneth the ground: whoſe courſe is manifeſt by the noyſe of the water that maye bee hard. And yet on al groũde vnder the which ſo great a riuer doth rounne, there doo not appeare eny moiſture, put forth. Of the captiues that were taken emõges the Sogdians, there were .xxx. of the moſt noble brought vnto Alexander. whiche vnderſtandinge by an interpreter, that by the kinges commaundemente they ſhoulde be put to execucion. They began as men in myrth to ſynge and daunce, and by a certayne laſſyuious mocion of their bodyes, expreſſed a greate ioyfulnes of the mynde Alexander meruelynge that they toke theyr death wyth ſuche ſtowtnes and magnanymitye of hearte, called theim vnto hym, enquerynge why they ſhewed ſo greate a gladnes,

Laſsvioious

nes, when they had death before ther face. Thei aunſwered that if they had bene put to death by eny, ſauinge by ſuch one as he was, that they ſhould haue takē their death ſorowfully. But now ſeig they ſhuld be reſtoryd to their predeceſſours by a king that was a conquerour of al nations: they reioyſed in their honeſt death, as the thing that all men ſhoulde wiſhe & deſyre. The king then meruayling at there magnanimitye: I enquere of you (ꝙ he) if you can be contēt to liue, & become frendes to him, by whoſe benifite you ſhal receiue your life. They ſaide that as they neuer were his enemies, but as they were prouoked by occaſion of the warres, euen ſo if he woulde make an experiment of them rather by a benefite, then an iniurie, they would labour not to be ouercome in good will, nor in doyng the thing that perteyned to theyr dutie. They were axed what pledge they would lay of their promiſe. They ſaid their liues they had receyued, ſhould be their pledge redy to be yelded agayne, whē it were required. Therin they brake no promiſe, for ſuche of theim as were returned home into their coūtrey kept the people in good obediēce, & foure of them that were appointed to be of the kiges guard, gaue place to none of the Macedōs in loue or affection towardes their prince. when he had ordred all thinges emonges the Sogdians, he left Peucolaus
Peucolaus there wyth .iii. M. men of warre, and remoued into Bactria, Frō whēce he commaūded Beſſus to be caried to Echatan, there to ſuffre death for the killinge of Darius. About the ſame tyme Ptolomeus & Menidas brouht .iii. M. footemē & a thouſand horſemē of mercenary ſouldiers, & one Aleander came to him out of Lycia with .iii. M. foote mē and .v.C. horſemē

Aſclepeodorus had leuied the like nõbre out of Siria, Antipater ſent.viii.M. Greakes emonges whome there were.v.C.horſemen. When he had thus encreaſed his army with the ſupply of his new power, he wẽt about in euery place to quiet thoſe ſturres ỹ bene rayſed vp by the rebellion. And hauinge ſlayne them that were the aucthours and beginners therof, the fourth day came to the ryuer of Oxus, which beinge a water vnholſome to be dronke, becauſe it is euer troubled & ful of mudde, the Macedons fel to diggyng of welles. And whẽ by diggyng deape they could find no water, a ſpring ſodenly appeared in the kinges tent, which becauſe it was not found at the firſt, they fayned it to come by miracle. Therewith the king was pleaſed, and contentid men ſhuld beleaue that the ſame was ſente bi the gift of god. When he paſſed the riuers of Ochus and Oxus, they came vnto a citie called Marginia, nere vnto the which he choſe out places for the buildyng of ſyxe townes: wherof he planted two towardes the ſouth, and foure towardes the eaſt: euery one diſtant a ſmalle ſpace frõ an other, to thintent, ỹ their mutuall aſſiſtaũce in tyme of nede ſhould, not be farre to ſeke. They were al ſeituate vpon high hilles, as bridels to kepe vnder thoſe wilde nacions. But now they haue forgotten their original, and be ſubiect to thoſe, they were wont to rule. The king hauyng ſubdued all the reſt, one rocke only remaynid whiche Arimazes a Sogdian had taken with.xxx.M.armed men, & furnyſhed ỹ ſame of victuals for two yeares. The ſame rock was.xxx.furlõges in height and.Cl.about, being in all partes ſteape and broken, hauing one ſtreight pathe only to paſſe vp vnto it. In the midde way to to the toppe it had a caue which was narowe & darcke

Marginia

a rock kepte againſt Alexander by Arimazes.

darck in the enterey, but by littell and littell it waxed wyder, & had large lodginges within for a great multitude, and was beſides ſo full of ſpringes, that when they met together they ran downe the rock like a great ryuer. Alexander beholding the ſtrength of this place, & the difficultie to wynne it: Determined to departe from thence. But there entryd ſodenly into his hart a deſire to wery nature, and worcke againſte her power. Yet before that he would attempt the fortune of eny ſiege, he ſente Cophes the ſonne of Artabaſus, to perſuade them to geue it ouer. Arimazes vpon truſte of the ſtength of the place annſwered in al thinges arrogauntly, but ſpecially in that he axed whether Alexander could flye. Which wordes reported to the king, did put in ſuch a furye, that ſtreighte wayes he called for ſuche as he vſed to conſult with all, declaryng the pride and preſumption of Arymazes, and after what maner he had ſkornened him. But ſhortlye (he ſayde) he would deuiſe ſuche a polycye, that he would make hym thynke the Macedons had wynges. He required them therfore that out of the whole army, they would choſe out and bringe to hym thre hundred of the moſt lighteſt young men, whiche hadde bene accuſtomed to driue beaſtes emonges the rockes & ſtreighte pathes of the mountaynes. Whereupon they brought ſuch to the king, as both for lyghtnes of body, and hardines of hart were moſt mete for ſuch a purpoſe. Unto whō he ſayde: my fellowes that be of myne owne age, wyth you I haue wonne Cyties that were counted in expugnable, and haue paſſed the toppes of mounteynes couered continuallye with ſnowe. Wyth you I haue gone through the ſtreightes of Cylicia, and haue without werynes ſuſteyned the violence of the could, wher

Cophes.

The exhortacion that Alexander made to them whō he had appointed to clyme the rocke.

by I haue experience of you, and you of me. The rocke whiche you ſee haue but one entre, which our enemies do obſerue, the reſt they neglect. They keape no watch but towardes our campe. If you diligently ſerch, you ſhall fynde ſome way to bring you to the toppe. Nature hath made nothing ſo highe, but that it maye be attayned to, by the induſtry of man. In putting thinges in proufe, wherof other haue diſpayred, we haue gotten Aſia into oure poſſeſſion. Deuiſe you the meanes to get vp into the toppe, whiche when you haue taken, you ſhall geue a token to me by ſettynge vp of ſome white clothe. You ſhall ſe me then come forwardes with my power, and turne the enemyes from you towardes me. He ſhall haue ten talentes for a reward that doth recouer the toppe firſt, and he that getteth vp nexte, ſhall haue one leſſe and the like ordre ſhalbe obſerued, with ten of the firſt. I am aſſured ẏ you regarde not ſo much my liberalitie as my fauour. Whē they had heard the kīg ſpeake after that mãer, they imagined the thing wonne, and departing out of his preſence, prepared ſtrong ropes and yron hokes, which they might faſten to the rockes, and ſo clyme vp. The kinge broughte them aboute the rock, where as it ſeamed leaſt ſteape & moſt plaine to moūt vpon, and in the ſeconde watche willed them to paſſe forwardes wyth good ſpeade. They being furnyſhed with two dayes vyctuals, & armed only with ſwordes and ſpeares, at the firſt went forwardes without eny great difficultie. But when they came to the ſteapnes of the rock, ſome toke holde of the broken cragges to lift vp them ſelues, and ſome faſtenynge their hokes on ẏ rockes, clame vp by the ropes. They were compellyd to reſte and ſtaye dyuers tymes, and ſo conſumid the daye in trauaill & in feare. when they had paſſed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rock ſeminge to growe more & more. whē they failed either of their holde, or of their footing, it was a myſerable thing to ſee how they fell downe hedlonge, ſhewinge to the other miſfortune, an enſample what was a likely to become of them. Notwithſtandinge at length throughe al theſe difficulties they gotte vp vnto the top, where they al weried with the trauaill of their continuall labour, & ſome with the hurtes & maines they had receiued, ſlept there al that night, emonges the wylde and rough rockes, vnmyndfull of the perill they were in. when it was daye they wakenyd oute of their deape ſleape, and beholding the valeis vnderneath thē, were ignoraunt in what parte of the rocke ſo great a multude of their enemyes ſhuld lie. But at legth whē they perceiued by the ſmoke in what place they were, they vpon the pointes of two ſpeares ſet vp the ſigne that was appointed them, and founde than in their comming vp they had loſt their nombre two and thyrtie. The king being carefull not ſo muche for the deſire he had to winne the rocke, as for to ſaue thoſe whome he had ſent to ſo manifeſt a daunger, ſtode all day beholding the toppe of the mounteyne. And when darckenes of the night toke away the proſpecte of the eyes, he departyd to refreſh his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceyued the white cloth ſet vp in the toppe of the rocke, but the varyete of the ayer, and the ſonne begynnyng to appeare, and yet hydden, cauſed hym to doubte a whyle whether his ſight had fayled hym or no. But when it was full and open day, it appeared manifeſtlye, and all doubte was remouyd. Then he called Cophes, by whome he had actemptyd theyr myndes before, wyllynge hym ones againe to exhort them to be better aduiſed. And if ſo be that in truſt of theyr ſtrength, they would not ſubmit them ſelues, that then he ſhould ſhewe to them the mē that had taken the rocke ouer their heades. when Cophes came thether, he beganne to perſuade Arimazes to geue vp his ſtrength, thereby to wynne the kinges fauoure, and not enforce Alexander to ſtay in the ſiege of a rocke, hauīg ſo many weighty affaires in hād: But he founde him more obſtinat and proude then he dyd before, and willed Cophes to departe and moue him no more in the matter. Then he toke Arimazes by the hand, and required him to go with him out of the caue. when they were come where as they might loke about, he ſhewed him thoſe that were gotten to the top of the cragge, and ſkorning them hys pryde: axed of him whether Alexāders ſouldiers had gotten wyngs or no? by that tyme the trompettes were blowen in the Macedōs campe, & they myght heare the alarome that was made in the armye. which matter as many vayne & triflyng thynges are wonte in the warres to grow to greate effect, ſo that was the cauſe why they yelded them ſelues. For feare ſo troubled them, that they could not conſider the ſmalle nombre that were ouer their heades, but called Cophes aggaine in great haſt, who was departed away, and ſent with hym vnto Alexāder .xxx. of the chiefe mē, authoriſed to yealde vp the rocke, with compoſition for to depart in ſauegarde. But Alexāder not withſtāding that he doubted, leſt his enemyes dyſcoueringe the fewnes of hys men, might put them to diſtreſſe: yet truſting in the felicyte of his owne fortune, & offendyd wyth the pride of Arimazes, would agree to no condiſion, but that

Cragge

they ſhould yelde ſimply. Arimazes therupon dyſpayſing more of his eſtate, then he had cauſe, deſcendyd downe to the campe wyth the chiefeſt of the nacyon, that were of kinne to hym. All the whyche Alexander cauſed to be ſcourged with roddes, and be crucified at the foote of the rocke. The multitude that yelded, with the money that there was taken, were geuen in gyfte to thinhabiters of the newe cities. And the rule of the ſayd rocke was committed to Artabaſus, with the charge of the country there about.

(.:.)

The eyght booke of
Quintus Curtus of the actes of the
great Alexander kyng
of Macedon.

Alexander hauinge wonne this rocke, with greater fame then glory, becauſe hys enemies remained in no place certayne, it was neceſſary for hym to ſeperate hys power, & ſo deuided his army in thre partes. He gaue the charge of the one part to Epheſtion, to Cenō the other, & toke the third part vnto him ſelfe. His enemies were not al of one opynyon, for ſome of them ſeinge their defence could not auail, yelded them ſelues before the fyght, to whome he gaue the cyties and the landes of thoſe that continued ſtyl his enemies. But the outlawes of Bactria with .viii. C. horſemen waſted the villages of the Meſſagetes. For the redreſſe wherof, Attynas gouernour

Meſſagetes.
Attynas.

nour of that countrey, went agaynſt them wyth .iii. C. horſemen not knowing that his enemies lay in wayte for him, whych had layīg their imbuſhemēt in a wood ioynyng to a great playne, had appoynted a certayne to driue catteil, therby to drawe their enemies wyth yͤ gredines of the praye, within daunger, of the enbuſhement. When Attinas men ſawe the driuers of the cattayll, they purſued them without ordre, ſo that when they were paſſed the wood where thimbuſhemēt lay, their enemies brake out vpon them caſtinge no ſuche perils, and ſlew them eueri one. The fame of thys ouer throwe, came immediatly vnto Craterus, whiche drue thether with the horſemē. But the Maſſagetes beyng fled before his comming, he ſlewe .M. of the Dahans that toke their parte, wherbi the whole rebellion of the whole countrey ceaſſed. Thus Alexander hauinge ſubdued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda, whether (Berdes whom he had ſent to the Scythians inhabitinge about Boſphorus) came to hym with Embaſſadours of that countrey. Phrataphernes alſo that had the chyef rule of Maſagetes and Dahans (whych nacions were ioyned by affinitie togethers) ſent certayne meſſengers to Alexander, offrynge to be at hys commaundement. The Scythyan Embaſſadours made requeſt that Alexander would mary their kynges doughter, and if the affinitie pleaſed hym, that he would ſuffre the prynces of the Macedons to enter in maryege lykewyſe, wyth the noble mens doughters of their countrey, promiſyng that the king ſhould come in perſon to viſite hym. He hard gently both the Embaſſades and, ſtyll continued in that place, tyll Epheſtion and Artabaſus came vnto him, and then ioynyng his power againe to gether, came into the coūtrey

Dahans.

Phrataphernes.

that

Baſaria.

A parck that
the deire were
not hunted, in
iiij^or mens ages.
neither the wild
beastes by any
man troubled,
in the tyme aforsaid.

Lyſima-chus.

that is called Baſaria. There is nothing more eſteamed in that nacion, then to haue great herdes of wilde beaſtes encloſyd in parkes, whych be very pleaſaunt, & full of ſpringes. Thoſe parkes be encloſed with walles, and towers builded within them to be lodges for the hunters, There was one parke in that countrey that had remayned vnhũtyd, during the tyme of foure mens ages. wherinto Alexander entred wͭ his whole army, chaſing the wilde beaſtes in euery quarter. Emõges the reſt there was a lion of a rare bignes that came ronning towardes Alexander. whiche thynge when Lyſimachus (that afterwardes was king, ſtanding by chaunce then next to Alexãder, perceiued, he ſtepped before him, to receiue the lyon wyth his hunting ſpeare. But Alexãder plucked hym back, and willed him to auoyde, ſayenge that he was able to kyll a lyon ſo wel as Lyſimachus. This Lyſimachus on a tyme hũtyng in Syria killed by himſelf alone an huge lion. But he was torne to the bones vnder his left ſhoulder, & put in great daũger of his life. which beinge the matter yͭ Alexander ment, he performed with that worde no les then he promiſed, for he did not only receiue the lyon, but killed hĩ wͭ one ſtroke. Therupon the fable did riſe howe Alexander ſhuld haue caſt Lyſimachus to a lyõ. But though Alexanders chaunce was good here in yet the Macedõs knew yͭ by the cuſtome of hys cõtrei he ſhould not haue hunted on foote without the chiefeſt of his nobilite and frendes about hym. He killed within yͤ parke .iiii. M. wilde beſtes, and there dyd bãket his army, returnyng afterwardes to Maricanda, Artabaſus excuſing himſelf there by his age, yͭ he was vnapt for the rule of that countrey, Alexãder commytted the ſame to Clitus, being the man that defendyd him with his target when he was fighting bare headed at the riuer of Granick, and there cut of with his ſworde Roſaceris hād, that was in a redines to ſtrike the kynge. He was an olde ſouldier of Philippe hys father, and notable by many feates of warre that he had done. Hellanice his ſuſter was Alexāders nurſe whome he loued no leſſe then his owne mother. For theſe cauſes he committed the ſtrongeſt parte of his Empire to his fidelitie. The kinge that purpoſyd to ſet forward in his iourney the next daye, made that night a ſolempne banket, wherin (being ouergreate an aduaunter of him ſelfe) when he was chafed with drinking, begā to ſet furth the actes yͭ he had done, in ſuche ſort that his wordes offendid the eares of ſuch as knew thē to be trew. The auncient men kept ſilēce till ſuche time as he begane to deface the doinges of Philippe his father, aduauntinge the notable victorie at Cheroneſe to be his dede, the glory wherof (he ſaide) was taken from him by the malice and enuye of his father. For he alledgyd howe in the mutine which roſe betwene the Macedons and the Greake ſouldiours, whē Phylip lay hurt of a woūde which he receiued at a fray, thought him ſelfe ſure no other wiſe then to counterfaite to be dead: when he defended his body with hys buckeler, & ſlewe them with his owne hand that ran vpō his father to haue kylled him. Which act (he ſaied) his father would neuer gladly cōfeſſe, nor neuer could abide to acknowledge his ſaufegarde to come by his ſōne, He alſo declaryd how after yͤ iourney he made by hi ſelf into Illiria, in writig vnto his father, he aſcribed the victory vnto him ſelf, which ouerthrew his enemies & put thē to

flicht

Clytus

Hellanice.

Alexander offended his frēdes with ouer muche adauntinge of himſelfe ſlight, when Philip was away. He ſaid that in his opiniõ, it deſeruid but ſmal cõmẽdatiõ to make a iourney into Samothracia, whẽ Aſia ought to haue ben ſpoiled & brẽte. Nor he thought no mã worthy praiſe in dead e, but ſuch as do ſo great actes, ỷ may excede al mens credite. The yoũg mẽ that were preſẽt were glad to heare theſe wordes & ſuch other like, but they were vngrateful vnto the aũciẽtes, ſpecially for Philips cauſe, vnder whõ they had long ſeruyd. Thẽ Clitus which in like caſe was not verye ſober, turned to ſuch as ſate beneth him, rehearſing verſes of Euripides, wherof th e kinge might rather heare the ſounde then the wordes. The effect of thẽ was: that the Grekes did euil, which in the monumẽtes of their victories, did ſubſcribe only the names of their kinges, which vſurped the glory to thẽ ſelfes that other men did wynne by ſheding of ther bloud. Alexander therfore whiche iudged hys wordes to bene worſe then they were, enquered of ſuch as ſat next him, what Clitus ſaid. But whẽ they keapt ſilẽce: Clitus with a lowder voyce reherſed in order philips doinges, & the warrꝭ he made in Greace, preferring thẽ before eny actes don ſince ỷ time. Wherupõ ther did riſe a contẽciõ betwene the young mẽ & the old. But the king enforcing a paciẽs in him ſelf, whẽ he hard Clitus deface his prayſe cõceiued a wõderfull wrath in his mind. yet ſit emyd ỷ he wold haue bridled his affection, if Clitus wolde haue made an end of his preſũptuous talk. But whẽ he would not ceaſſe, he gaue occaſiõ to Alexãder to be further moued. Clitus then did procede ſo fareforth, ỷ he durſt defend Parmenios caſe, & preferred the victory that Philip wãne of the Athenyens, before the diſtructiõ of Thebes. And going further & further, not only through dronkeſhip but euen by a forwardnes of a contencious minde, at length ſaide: If we muſt dye through the, Clitus is the firſt. For they receyue greateſt rewardes of thy victori ŷ can moſt ſhamefully deface thy fathers memory. The coūtreay of Sogdiā is giuen vnto me, that hath ſo often rebellyd, and now is not onely vnſubdued, but ſuche one as by no meanes can be brought to ſubiectiō I am placed emōges thoſe wild beaſtes, ŷ be of ſuch an vnciuil diſpoſicion. But I could paſſe ouer thinges parteynig to my ſelf: if the ſouldiers of Philip were not deſpiſed, forgetting ŷ if ŷ old Atharias had not turned againe the young men. when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet ſtyked about Alycarnaſus. How is it thē that Aſia is cōquerid ẘ theſe young mē: But I ſe it is true ŷ your vncle ſaid in Italy: he caunſed vpon men, & you vpon womē. Ther was nothig ŷ Clitus ſpake or did in hys raſhnes ŷ moued more ŷ kinge, thē the honorable mēcion made of Parmenio, yet for al that he kept in his greif, & did nomore but cōmaūdid him to auoyde out of the place, & ſpake no other word ſauig that he ſaid: If thou talkeſt a lytle lenger, I thinke ŷ wilte brayde me with the ſauing of his life: wherof in very dede he wold oftētimes proudly aduaūce him ſelfe. But notwithſtandinge that the king had willed hym to depte yet he taried ſtil, and wold not riſe. And therfore ſuche as ſat next him, toke him by the armes to lead hym away, blaming and giuing him exhortaciō, for his better vſage. When Clitus ſawe him ſelf drawen forth againſt his wyll. Ire was addyd to hys dronkennes, & declared then alowde: howe that he with his breſte defēded the kiges backe, but now whē the good turne was paſt, ŷ veri memory of his benefite was hated. & ther-

a frowarde & contentious minde.

Clitus wordes.

When a good turne is paste, the memorie of the benefyte is hated.

therwith laid to his charge the death of Attalus, and fynally mocked the Oracle of Jupiter, whom Alexander claymed to be his father and ſayd, that he told him better truth, then his father did. At thoſe wordes the king was ſturred to ſuch wrath, as he could ſcarſly haue borne being ſobre. But hauing then his ſēces ouercome with drink, leaped ſodenly from the table, His frendis were amaſed whiche throwing downe yͤ cups for haſte, riſſe to wait yͤ end of the thing, they ſaw him go about in ſuch a fury He toke a ſpeare out of a ſquires hand and wold haue ſtrikē Clytus, that was yet raging with thintemperaunce of his toung But he was ſtopped by Ptolomeus and Perdicas, who tooke him in theyr armes, and ſtayed him for al hys ſtryuing. And Lyſimachus and Leonatus toke away the ſpeare. Then he called to his guarde for ayd crying out yͭ he was taken by his next frēdes as Darius was of late, & willed the trūpet to be blowen, yͭ the armed men might aſſēble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptolomeus fel downe vpō their knees requyring him yͭ he would not perſeuer in his wrath which he ſo ſodeynlye had conceyued, but rather reſpite his diſpleaſure, ſeynge that he might the next dai much more better order the matter. But his wrath preuayled ſo much, that his eares were ſhutte vp, & he ranne in a fury emonges the watchmen, plucking a ſpeare out of one of their handis, whiche once gotten he ſtode in the entry, throughe the whiche they muſt nedes paſſe yͭ ſupped with him. when al the reſt were come forth, Clitus came laſt without light. And becauſe Alexāder could not diſcerne him, he aſked what he was, but that was done ſo terribly, yͭ the cruelty of the acte he wēt about, apeared in his voice

But Clitus whiche ſeyng the kinge in a furye had no reſpect howe much he had offended him before, aunſwered that he was Clitus, whyche was commynge from the kinges banquet. with that worde he ſtrake hym throughe the body ſo ẏ he fel downe ſtarke dead, & was all be ſprinckeled wyth hys bloud. So nowe quod he to Philip, Parmenio, & to Attalus. Herein it mai be ſene that nature prouided euil in the diſpoſitiõ of man, which for the more part can not conſider ſo wel thynges to come, as thoſe that be paſt. For after that Alexanders ire was aſſwaged, and his dronkennes paſt, weying aduiſedly the foulnes of the acte he had done: conſidered then that thoughe Clitus had vſed ouermuch libertie in his talke, that yet he ought not to haue ſlayne ſo noble a mã of warre: yea, and the ſauer of hys owne lyfe though he were aſhamyd to confeſſe it. He ſaw that he beyng a kyng, had vſed the deteſtable office of an execucyoner in reeuengyng with wicked ſlaughter the libertie of wordes, which might haue ben imputyd vnto wyne. when he beheald the bloude of hym whiche a lytle before he had bydden to his banquet runne ouer all the entrey and that the watchemen were ſo aſtonyed and amaſed that they ſtode afarre of and durſte not cõ nere: his ſolytarines cauſed hys repentaunce to be the greater. Then he plucked the ſpeare out the dead corſe, and woulde haue thruſt it through his owne body, if the watchemen had not come runnynge, and with great ſtriuyng wronge the ſame out of his handes. That done they toke him vp, & caried him into hys lodgynge, wheras he fel downe flatte vpon the grounde, fillynge all the courte full of the miſerable noyſe of hys howlinge and lamentaciõ. He tare hys face wyth his nayles, & required ſuche as ſtode aboute hym, that they woulde not ſuffer hym to lyue in ſuch a ſhame & diſhonour. In theiſe requeſtes he conſumed the whole nyghte, & cauſed dylygent ſerche to be made whether it wer ẏ ire of the Goddes or no, that had cauſed him to cōmyt ſo heynous an acte. At length it was founde that the yearely ſacrifice due vnto Bacchus was not done in due time. And therfore it appeared manifeſtly, that it ſhoulde be the wrath of the Goddes, that hadde ~~moued~~ moued him to commit murther vpon eatyng and drynckig. But the greateſt thyng that encreaſed hys ſorowe, was the amaſemēt of hys frendes, when he ſawe them ſhrynke from him and that none of them after that deade done, would gladly vſe ſuche familiar communication as they dyd before. Then he perceyued that he ſhould liue as a wild beaſt in a deſert, both fearing others, and alſo afrayed hym ſelf. The next mornyng he commaunded the body bloudy as it was, to be broughte into his chambre, whiche when he ſaw lyeng before hym fel in wepyng and ſayd: Shal I after this ſort requit my nurſe, whoſe. ii. ſonnes ſlayne for my glory at miletum, I haue now killed her brother that was her onlye Ioye, at myne owne bourd: what refuge ſhal that wretched woman haue? I was all the comfort that dyd remayne to her, and now ſhe ſhall neuer be gladde to behold me. Shal I the wycked kyller of my preſeruers, returne into my countrey, when I ſhal not be hable to preſente my hād vnto my nurſe wythout the remembraunce of her myſery, when he could put no end to thieſe kynde of bewaylings, & complayntes, the body was taken away by the apoyntment of his frendes. After he had layen thre dayes ſhut vp in his chambre, ſorowing after this manner, the ſquiers & ſuch as had the keaping of hys

perſone

The that are feared & terrible vnto others, stand in feare them selues.

Alexāders lamētacyō for the death of clitus

Alexander was of a mylde & pittifull nature had not the vyce of dronkenes altered his disposission.

perſone ſeing him geuen obſtinatly to death, brake into his lodging, and wͭ great payne brought him (though he long wͭſtode their prayers) at length to take ſome reliefe and ſuſtenaunce. And to the entent he ſhould be the leſſe aſhamed of Clitus death, the Macedons, decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not ſuffre him to be buried, but that the kinge commaunded it.

After dronken= neſſe, foloweth ſhame and repentaunce.

Hauyng conſumyd ten dayes at Maracanda, ſpecially to confyrme the ſhame he had conceyued of Clitus death, ſent Epheſtiõ with parte of his army into Bactria to prouide victuaels agaiſt witer. And committed the ſame prouynce vnto Amintas, whyche before he had gyuen to Clytus. Frõ thence he went into a countrey called Zenyppa yͭ confineth with Scithians: whiche being wel inhabited & ful of villages, doth wyth the plentifulnes thereof, not only deteine the inhabiters to dwell their ſtill, but alſo inuiteth ſtraungers to come emonges thẽ. The ſame was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that ſtyl rebellyd, but after Alexanders cõming was knowne, they were driuen furth by the cõtrey men, and two. M. and two hondred of theyr horſmen aſſembled togither which were accuſtumed to liue by theft and ſpoyle in tyme of peace. whom not onely the warre but alſo dyſpayre of forgeuenes, had made more cruel, and their wild diſpoſicions worſe. They gaue an onſet ſodeynlye vpon Amyntas, yͭ was Darius lieutenãt. The battail was long doubtful betwixt them, but fynally they loſt. vii. hundred of there nombre whereof. iii. C. were taken pryſoners, & turned there backes to the vyctorours, not wythout a reuenge, for they ſlewe of them. iiii. ſcore beſides thre hundred and. L. that they wounded. And yeat notwythſtandynge after thys ſeconde rebellyon they obteyned pardon.

Zenippa.

Amyntas.

Naura

Syſymythres,

Moſte horrible Inceſte, amonge the heithens.

When Alexander had broughte them to obedience, he came with his hole army into a coũtrey called Naura, the lorde whereof was called Syſymithres, who had gotten two ſonnes by hys owne mother it being lawfull there for the parentes to vſe there children. The ſame Syſimythres with two thouſād armed mē fortefyed & kept the ſtreight at the entreye of the countrey where as it was moſte narowe. The paſſage was defendyd both with a riuer & with a rock, throughe the which rock the way was made by force of hande. The lighte is receyuyd in at the entre, but further inward there is none, but ſuch as mē bryng wyth them. From this rocke there goeth a vawte vnderneth the groũde that hath iſſues into the feldys, which be not knowē but to ſuch as be of the ſame coũtrey. Though thys ſtreight was naturally ſtrong, and defended beſides by a ſtrong power, that letted not Alexander to attempt it, but brought engynes which they call Arietes, to beate downe ſuch fortificatiō as was made with hand, and with ſlinges and ſhote of arrowes, did beat his enemyes from the places of their defence. when he hadde driuen them awaye, he paſſed throughe the fortificacions he hadde wonne, and made approche vnto the rocke. But the ſtreame that grew of the aſſemble of waters fallinge from the mounteyne was an impedimente to him therin. It ſeamed a wonderfull worke to fil the chanel of the riuer, yet he cauſed trees and ſtones to be brought to the place, and ſet the thĩg in hande. when his enemys that neuer had ſene eny ſuch worke before, ſawe the worke ryſe ſodanlye lyke a mountayne, were put in a maruaylous feare, which the kinge ſuppoſing they might haue bene brought to render it vp:ſent one Oxatres of the ſame nacyon to perſuade Syſimithres to render the rocke. And in the meane ſeaſon to put them in more terrour, he cauſed towers of woode to be brought forwardes, and dyd ſhote wyth engines ſo out of the ſame, that the enemies forſakynge all other ſtrengthes, retyred into the toppe of the rocke. Oxatres finding Siſymythres in thys feare, perſwaded hym rather to proue Alexãders beniuolence then his force, and ſeyng al creatures ſubmitted theym ſelues vnto hym, that he onely ſhoulde not be his let, goynge wyth hys vyctoryous army into Judia, wherby he ſhould turne other mens plages vpon his owne necke. Siſymythres would haue bene contented to folowe his aduiſe, but that ſhe whyche was both his mother and hys wyfe, affyrmed howe ſhe woulde rather dye, then commit her ſelfe into enye mans hande. And therfore beinge aſhamed that the loue of libertye ſhoulde remayne more in a womã thẽ in hym being a man, altered hys purpoſe, takynge that way whiche was more honeſt then ſure, and diſmiſſed hym that was the meane for peace, determynyng vtterly to abyde the extremitie of the ſiege, yet when he had weyed well his enemies power and hys owne togethers, began agayne to repent him of hys wyues coũſayle, as of a deuiſe more raſhe then profytable, and made ſute that Oxatres woulde returne, proferynge then to commit him ſelfe to the kinges wil, onely requiring of Oxatres that he would not vtter hys wyues mynde and opynyon, for fear leaſt ſhe ſhoulde not obteyne hyr pardon. He ſente therfore Oxatres before, & he came after wyth hys wyfe, his children, and all his kynſfolke wythout tarynge for eny aſſuraunce promiſed to hym by Oxatres. Alexander hearynge of theyr

Some womens counsell is more rasshe, then profytable.

com-

Philip

their commynge, ſente his horſmen before to cauſe theim to ſtaye, and tarye for hys comming. And whē he was come to the place where they did abyde, he offered Sacrifice to Minerua and victorya, reſtorynge to Syſymythres his former rule & aucthoritie, puttynge him in hope of a greater countrey, if he woulde faithfully continue his frendſhippe, and toke his two ſonnes preſentyd to him by the father, to ſerue in hys warres. Alexander lefte his footemen to ſubdue ſuch as were yeat vnyealdē, and went forwardes with his horſmen into other partes. The waye was craggye & difficulte, whych at the firſt they endured indifferently, but afterwardes whē their horſe houes were torne aſunder, and they vtterly forweried, many were not able to folow, but ridde diſpeckled, and oute of order, yͤ werines of their trauaile ſo muche ouercame ſhame. The kynge notwithſtandynge chaunged often horſe, and purſued without ceaſſing his enemies that fled before hym. By reaſon whereof all the noble younge men that were wonte to accompanye hym were lefte behynde, ſauynge onelye Philippe Lyſimachus brother, who then beynge in the floure of his youth, and of great likelihode to become an excellent man, folowed on fote the kynge that did ride on horſbacke by the ſpace of fifty furlonges, Liſymachus diuers tymes for all that proffered to hym hys horſe. But in no wiſe he would depart from the kyng, notwithſtandyng that he had on his corſelet and all his armour. When the kinge paſſed through a woode where hys enemies laie in embuſhement, he fought notably, and reſcued the kinge fyghtyng wyth hys enemyes. But after they were put to flyghte and driuen oute of the woddes, the greatnes of his courage which had ſuſte-

Spytamenes

ned hym in the heate of the fighte faynted with hys bodye, and beynge all on a ſwette, leaned him ſelfe to a tree, whiche did not ſo ſtaye him but that he fell to the earthe, and beyng taken vp againe by the kynges handes, ſhronke downe from hym and died. The king beyng ſorowfull for his deathe, receiued an other tydynges, no leſſe to be lamentyd. For before he came to hys campe he was aduertiſed of the death of Erigius, one of hys moſte notable Capitaynes, whoſe funerals were both celebrated wyth great pompe and ceremonies of honoure. From thence he determined to goo vnto the Dahans, where he vnderſtode that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceaſed to fauoure hym, fyniſhed that iourney of hys, as ſhe dyd manye other. Spytamenes was enflamed wyth the ouermuche loue of hys wife, whom he caried wyth hym in all his haſardes and aduentures. But ſhe that coulde not well endure flyinge, nor to chaunge places like an outelawe, became ſo werye of trauayle, that by flattery and fayre meanes, ſhe entiſed her huſbande to leaue his flyeng, and go about (ſeing he ſawe no way to eſcape) to procure Alexanders fauoure, of whoſe clemencye (ſhe ſayd) he had ſene ſo great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, ſhe brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making requeſt, that at the leaſt wayes he would take pity on them, wherein ſhe thoughte her praier woulde be the more effectuall, becauſe Alexander was ſo nere at hande. But Spitamenes iudging her not to do this by waie of counſaile, but of purpoſe to betraie him and that ſhe deſiered to ſubmit her ſelf vnto Alexander in confidẽce of her beautie drewe oute his ſwerde to haue ſtriken her if he hadde not bene letted by hys brethren. whẽ they would not ſuffer hym otherwiſe to hurt her, he commaunded her to auoyde hys ſyght, threatenyng to kyl her if ſhe profered to come againe to his preſence. And to mitigate hys loue towardes her, he ſpente the nyght emonges hys concubynes. But his loue that was ſo deapelye grounded thereby ceaſſed not, but rather kendeled the more towardes his wyfe. wherefore he reconſiled hym ſelfe agayne vnto her, making his continuall requeſt, that ſhe would not counſail nor moue hym eny more in the matter, but be content wyth ſuche chaũces as Fortune would ſende him, for he eſteamed death lyghter then to yeld him ſelfe. She purged her ſelfe of her former perſwaſion, whiche appered to her (ſhe ſayd) to haue bene good, and thought it were after a womãs maner, yea it proceaded of a faithful meanynge, yet from thence forth ſhe was contentyd to do as it ſhould pleaſe him. Spytamenes ouercome with her counterfait affection, made a greate feaſt, and after much eatyng and drinkinge became drowſie, and was caryed into his chamber. when his wife perceiued hĩ to be in a deape ſlape ſhe pulled out a ſwerde whiche ſhe had kept ſecretelye for that purpoſe, and cut of hys head deliuering the ſame being ſprinkeled with bloud vnto her ſeruaunte that was priuy to the facte, and with him onlye as ſhe was enbrued wyth bloude came vnto the Macedons campe, willinge it to be ſignified to Allexãder that there was one come, that hadde to ſpeake with him. He by and by gaue cõmaundement ſhe ſhould entre, but when he perceyued her defiled with bloud (thinkĩg that ſhe had come to) lamente ſome iniurye done vnto her, wylled her to declare what ſhe would haue. She deſiryd that her ſeruaunt myght come in, from vnderneth whoſe gar

ments

ment ſhe toke Spitamenes hedde, and preſentyd it vnto Alexander. The palenes of the face wantynge bloude, had takẽ away the knowledge whoſe it was. But when the kinge perceiued it to be a mans hedde, he departyd forth of the tente, and by enquerie vnderſtode the matter. The caſe brought him in greate perplexitie, and was driuen by diuers ymaginations into ſundry opinions. He iudged the kyllynge of ſuche one (being a fugityue and a rebell) to be greate benefite vnto him, whiche liuinge myght haue bene great a greate let and impedimente to his proceadynges. But one the other ſyde, conſiderynge the horriblenes of the deade, that ſhe ſhould kill him by treaſon which loued her ſo entirely, and by whome ſhe had had children: the violence of the acte, ouercame the thanke of her benefite, & ſhe was cõmaũded to depart the Camp leſt the enſample of ſuch lycẽcyouſnes, might corrupt the maners and ciuill dyſpoſiſſion of the Greakes. When the Dahãs vnderſtode of Spytamenes death they brought Dataphernes boũd that was partener with him in hys cõſpiracy, and yealded thẽ ſelues vnto Alexander. He being delyueryd from the greateſte part of his preſent care, determinyd to reuenge the iniuries of them which had ben miſuſed by the pride and couetouſnes of his deputyes and officers. Therfore he committed Hircania with the Mardons and Tapyrions to Phrataphernes, to whome he gaue in cõmiſſiõ to ſende Phradates his predeceſſour to hĩ as a priſõer. Ptaſamer was ſubſtituyd ruler of Carya in the place of Arſamus. Arſaces was ſent into Media to thintent that Oxidates ſhould remoue from thẽce Babylon vpon the death of Mezeus was committed to Diditamenes. When he had ordeyned theiſe thyn-

Spitamenes wyeff brought the heade of her husbande vnto Alexander, but the vyolence of the deade, toke awaie the thanke of the benefyte, for he commanded her to departe the Campe.

Gabaſa.

Tempeſtions

A tempeſt.

thiges, the third moneth, he drue his army out of their winter lodginges, to go vnto a cou̅trey that was called Gabaſa. The firſte dayes iourney was quiet, and the next not very tempeſtuous yet darker thē has bene accuſtumed, but not without ſome ſignifycatyon of ther calamityes that were commyng. The third daye the element was full of lyghtnyng, and when the lightnyng ceſſed, it was very darke. The beholdinge therof amaſyd the ſouldiers, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, & the lightning fell in ſtraunge ſymilytudys, ſo that the army ſtode aſtonyed and durſt neither go forwardes nor remayne ſtyll in a place. Then there came ſodaynely a ſhower of hayle dryuyng lyke a ſtreame, whyche at the firſte they defended by couerture of their harneys. But ſhortelye after their handes were ſo colde and wette, that they could not holde their weapons, nor yet deuiſe whiche waye to turne them ſelues, fyndyng alwayes where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempeſte then before. Euerye manne therefore brake hys araye, wanderynge aboute the woodes, and many that were weryed by feare rather then by trauayle, lye downe vpō the grounde, notwythſtandynge that the force of the colde hadde conuertyd the ſhower into a froſte. The trees agaynſt whych they leaned, was a great refuge and helpe to manye. And yet they were not ygnoraunt when they reſted, that they choſe them ſelues a place of death, for when they left to moue their bodyes, the naturall heate left theim. But eaſe was ſo pleaſaunt to ſuch as were weried, that they refuſyd not to dye in reſtyng of them ſelues. Their afflictyon was not onely vehement for the tyme, but alſo contynued very longe, to the encreaſe wherof the lyghte whyche is a natural dilectacion vnto menne, through the darknes of the ſhower, and the ſhadowe of the wood was ſo taken awaye, that it appeared as it hadde bene nyght.

The kynge onely was able to endure this myſchiefe, whyche ceaſſed not to go aboute the armye, drawyng the ſouldiours together when they were dyſperklyd, lyftyng them vp that laye on the grounde, and to encourage theym, he ſhewed theym the ſmoke that roſe afarre of from the Cotagies, whether he exhorted theym to drawe for ſuccour. There was not eny thynge more effectual to their ſaufeguarde, then that whiles they were aſhamed to leaue theyr Prince, whome they ſaw endure thys myſchyefe, they chafed theym ſelues wyth their labour and trauyle. But neceſſite whyche in aduerſe fortune is of more force then eny reaſon, founde out a remedy for this colde. They fel to cuttyng downe the woode, makynge euery where heapes and ſtackes thereof, and ſet them on fire. Then a man would haue iudged that the whole woode, had bene on a flambe.

For there was ſcarcelye ſpace lefte betwyxte the fyres for men to ſtande. Then theyr nummed members begā to be moued with the heate, & their ſprytes which were opreſſed by force of the colde, begane to haue their free recours. Some recouered the cotagies, whyche neceſſytye cauſed theym to ſeke out in the furthermooſte parte of the woode, and the reſt recoueryd the campe, whyche was planted in a moyſte ground. But by that tyme the ſhower was ceaſſed, the tempeſt, had ſumed a thouſande ſouldiours, verlets, and ſlaues.

It is ſayde that diuers were founde froſen to deathe leaning agaynſt trees, and yet ſeamed as though they had ben lyuinge and ſpeakinge together. It chaunſed

that

There can be no greater greife to men, then to be kept in contynuall darknes.

In adversitie, neceſſitie is of more force then reason.

that a common ſouldiour of the Macedons whyche had muche payne to goe and cary hys armour, came at the laſt into the campe where the king was, who not withſtandyng that he was chafyng of hys owne bodye againſt the fyꝛe, yet he did riſe out of hys chayꝛe and pullinge of the nummed ſouldiers armour that he was paſt his remembꝛaunce, ſette him downe ther in. He a great whyle knew not where he ſatte, oꝛ who had receiued him. But at length whẽ his natural heate came to him, and perceyued it to be his kinges ſeate, and the kynge to be there pꝛeſente, was affrayed, and ſtarte vp againe. But Alexãder beheld him in the face, and ſayd: Perceyueſt thou not now my ſouldier, with how muche better condicion thou liueſt then the Percians do vnder their king? For it is death foꝛ them to ſit in the kinges ſeate, and the ſame hath bene the ſaueguarde of thy life. The next day he called his frendes, and the captaynes of the armye togethers, pꝛomiſing to reſtoꝛe to them whatſoeuer they had loſt. wherin he perfonrmed his pꝛomis, For Syſimitehꝛes bꝛinging vnto him many beaſtes of burden with two. M. Camels, and great nombꝛe of ſhepe and oxen, he diſtrybuted all emonges the ſouldiers: wherin he bothe reſtoꝛed to them their loſte, and alſo deliuered them frõ their honger. The kyng gaue great thankes vnto Syſimithꝛes, and commaunding his ſouldyers to cary ſyx dayes victuals ready dꝛeſſed, went to the Sacans where he deſtroyed al their countrey, and of the botye there taken gaue. xxx. thouſand ſheape in gift to Syſimythꝛes. Frõ thence he came vnto a coũtrey belongig to a noble pꝛice called Cohoꝛtanꝰ, which ſubmitted hi ſelfe vnto ẏ king. And he agayne reſtoꝛed his cõtrey vn to hym, exacting nothing of his, but yͭ of hys thre ſonnes, he ſhould ſende two with him to ſerue his Warres. But Cohortanus offred to him al three and made a feſte vnto Alexander with all ſuche ſumptuouſnes as belongyd to the maner of the countrey. Therein al the pleaſures beynge ſhewed that coulde be deuyſed thyrty virgines of the noble mēs childrē were brought in before Alexander emonges whome, there was Cohortanus doughter called Roxane, which in beauty ⁊ excellens of perſonage, and in comlynes of apparayll (rare emonges thoſe nacions) excellyd all the reſte. And not with ſtanding that they were all electe with whome ſhe was accompanied, yet ſhe drewe al mens eyes towardes her, and ſpecially the kynges, yͭ coulde not wel now gouerne his affections in ſuch proſperite of fortune: being the thyng that the fraylenes of man ſeldome can auoyde. Thus he whych behelde the wife of Darius, and her two doughters (to whome Roxan was nothyng comparable) with no other entent thē he myght haue done his mother, was then ſo farre ouercome with the loue of a young virgine, beinge but of a baſe ſtocke if ſhe ſhoulde be compared to kynges bloud that he affirmed it to be a thyng neceſſary for yͤ eſtablyſhement of the Empire, for the Percians and Macedons to mary togethers: by whych only meanes ſhame myght be taken from the vaynqueyſhed, ⁊ pryde from the vyctorours. He alſo for hys purpoſe alledged a preſſydent how Achilles (of whome he was deſcendyd) ioyned hym ſelfe wyth a captiue. And leſt hys doynges ſhould be thoughte iniurye, he woulde couple hym ſelfe by the waye of maryage. The father ioyful of theiſe newes that he loked not for glad-

ly

Roxane

affections are hardli governed in prosperitie of fortune.

A ceremony of mariage emonges the Macedons.

for gladly confirmed the kynges wordes. who in the heate of his deſire, cauſed bread to be brought furth according to the cuſtome of hys countrey, the ſame beynge the moſte religious ceremony of mariage emonges the Macedons. whiche bread was cut a ſonder with a ſworde, and eche of them made of it a ſacrifice. It is to be thought that ſuche as eſtablyſhed the cuſtomes of that nacion, couetyd by a moderate and a ſcarſe diet, to ſhewe to them that were the gatherers of great ryches, with howe ſmalle a thynge they ought to content them ſelues. Thus he that was both kyng of Aſia and Europe, ioyned hym ſelfe in mariage with a mayde brought in at a maſke, to beget vpon a captiue, that ſhoulde reigne ouer the victorious Macedons. His frẽdes were aſhamed that he ſhould choſe vpon drinke a father in law, of them that he had lately ſubdued. But after the death of Clitus all the libertie and franckenes of ſpeache beinge taken away, they ſeamed to aggre with their countenaunces, as with the moſt apt inſtrument to declare the conſent of the mynde. After this was done, he prepared his ionrney towardes India, purpoſinge to viſite the Occean Sea. And becauſe he would leaue nothing behynde his backe that might be impediment to hys expedicion: toke ordre for thirty thouſand young men to be leuied out of all the prouinces, and to be brought vnto him armed, myndyng to vſe them both as pledges and ſouldiers. He ſent Craterus, to purſue Hauſtenes, and Cathenes, of whome the one was taken, and the other ſlayne. Policarpon alſo ſubdued the countrey that was called Bubacen. And ſo hauing ſet all thinges in ordre, he ſette his whole imaginacion vpon the warre of Inde, whiche

A kinge to chose his wyfe, out of a maske, and in his dronkennes, it was scant worthy commendacions.

Bubacen.

was coũted to be a very ryche countrey, & to haboũd both with golde, perles, & precious ſtones thynges more apperteynent to voluptuouſnes, then to magnificence, ⁊ it was ſaid that the ſouldiers there hadde their targettes made of Juery, and of gold. And therfore leſt he which thought hym ſelfe to excell the reſte, ſhould be paſſed in eny point, cauſed his ſouldiers to garnyſh their targettes with plates of ſiluer, the horſmē to make their bridels of gold, and their corſeletes to be bewtefied, with golde, and wyth ſyluer. There were hundred & .xx. thouſand armed men that followed Alexander to that warre. When al thynges were in redynes, for the purpoſe he longe before conceiued in his euill diſpoſed mynde, thought it tyme to compaſſe, how he might vſurp the name and honoure of a god, and ſo willed him ſelfe not onlye to be called, but alſo beleaued to be the ſōne of Juppiter: although his power had bene aſwell to reſtreyne mens thoughtes as their tōges. His entent was that the Macedons ſhoulde fall groueling vpon the ground and wourſhip him after the like maner the Perciens dyd their kinges. And to ſuch his deſire, there wanted not pernicious flattery: the perpetuall poyſon of prynces whoſe eſtate hath hadde more often ouerthrowes by flattery, then by eny force of enemies. The Macedons wer not in blame of this, for none of them ſuffrid gladly ther coũtrey cuſtumes to be ſubuerted. But it was the fault of the Greakes, which with ther naughtye condicions, corrupted the profeſſion of honeſt ſciences. Ther was one Hagys of Argiue as euyl a poet as was ſince Chirillus dayes, & another called Cleo a Cicilyan, geuē to flattery both of nature and by the cuſtume of his countrey. They with other the dredge

and

apperteynent

Alexander coueteth to be honored as a god.

The pernitious poyson off flatterie, which oft throwen more princes, then force off enimies.

Hagys.
Chirillus.
Cleo.

Sicilian borne & geuen to flatterie by nature.

and refuſe of their countreys whome Alexāder reputed more then eny of his captaynes or hys kynſmen) wold haue made it appere to the world, that heauē had layen open for Alexander, and ſtycked not openlye to pronoūce that both Herculus, and Bacchus Chaſtor and Pollux ſhoulde al giue place to his newe godhed. For yͤ bryngyng of thoſe thinges to paſſe the kyng cōmaunded vpon a ſolempne day a feaſt to be prepared with great pompe, inuiting ther vnto al the great lordes, and gentlemen both of the Macedons & the Greakes, wyth whom whē he had ſitten & eating awhile, he departed fram them out of the feaſt. Then Cleo, as was before determined, ſet furth his talke with great prayſe and wonder of the kinges vertues, reherſinge hys exceding benefites towardes them al, which to requite he ſayd ther was but one waye, and that was if they would acknowledge him a God whome they knew to be one. For it is a ſmal thyng. qd he to recompence ſuch great benefites towardes you, with the coſt of a litel frākinſence, He ſhewed the Percians cuſtume to be both religious and wyſe in worſhyppinge there kinges as gods: thinkyng ther defence & ſaueguard to conſiſt in the maieſtye of ther prince. He ſayd, that Hercules & bacchus wer deified, when they had once ouercome the enuye of ſuch as lyued in their tyme, And mē yͭ come after do eaſely beleaue ſuch thigꝫ, as haue bene confirmid by there predeceſſours. If eny of you (qd he) wyl ſticke at this matter, ye ſhall ſe me the fyrſte yͭ at the kinges comming in, ſhal fall downe grouelyng on the earth & wourſhip hī. which preſidēt others ought to folowe and ſpecyally men of moſte wyſdome, that ſhould alwayes be enſample to others in doinge theyr duyties towardes theyr prynce. Hys tale tēdyd direcly againſt agaynſt Caliſtenes whoſe grauitye and prompt lybertye of ſpeaking was hateful vnto the king, for he thought him the mã, which only had ſtayed the Macedons, that ells wold redely haue done to him that honour. Herupon euery mans eies, were turned towardes Caliſtenes, which after ſilence made, ſaid in this wiſe: If the kinge were preſente, Cleo, to heare theis thy words, it ſhuld not be nedeful then to aunſwer the, for he hĩ ſelf wold make requeſt yͭ he might not thus ſwarue out of his kynde, into the cuſtumes of ſtraungiers. Nor he would not ſuffre yͭ thou ſhuldeſt deface & bring in the obloquie & enuy of men, wͭ ſuch thi pernicious flattery, his noble actes brought to paſſe with ſuch felicyty and good fortune. But becauſe he is awaye, I for hym will thus anſwere the. There is no frute ſone rype, that wil continew long. This I meane by the nine honours, which whyles thou goeſt about to geue vnto the kynge, thou takeſt his honour from him. There is a tyme required that men ſhuld beleaue him to be a god, for that gift hath alwaies bene geuen to great men, when they ar once dead, by ſuch as came after theim, I wyſhe vnto the kyng immortalitie after his death, and that hys lyfe maye be longe and his eſtate continuall. But ſanctifieng is a thinge that ſomtime doth folowe a man, but it doth neuer accõpany hĩ. Thou diddeſt reherſe enſamples of the deifieng of Hercules, and Baccus. Thinkeſt thou that they were made Goddes vpon drinke, and by the decre of one dynner? the nature of Alexanders manhode muſt be remoued frõ our mortal eyes, before the fame can bringe him into heauen. Are not they goodly goddes (Cleo) that thou and I can make? Would the kyng (troweſt thou) be content

Obloquie

That frute that
is soone rype
will not con
tynue longe.

to receiue of vs ẏ acthoritie of his godhed. I haue great deſyre to proue thy power. If ẏ canſt make a god, firſt make a kynge. It is muche more eaſye to geaue a worldly kindome, then the poſſeſſion of heauen. Thinkeſt thou (Cleo) that the immortall goddes will heare the without dyſdayne, or ſuffre theiſe thy wicked deuiſes to take effecte: they would we ſhuld holde as content with the cuſtomes of our fore fathers, and for my part I am not aſhamed of my coũtrey, nor I require not to learne after what maner I ſhould honoure my prince. For in mine opinyon, we acknowledge him ſufficiently to be king & victorour, of whome we receiue lawes to liue vnder. Calyſtenes was fauourably hard of al men, as the perſone whome they coũted the recouerer of their vnyuerſall libertie. He did not onely in hys tale paynte out ſuch flatterers, but alſo liuely expreſſyd the opinion of the Macedons, ſpecially of ſuch as were auncient men, to whome the exchaunge of their old vſages were greuous. The kyng was nothynge ignoraunt of the wordes that had paſſed betwyxt them, for he ſtode behinde a particion of the hall and heard all the matter. He ſent word therfore to Hages, and Cleo, that at his comming in, they ſhould moue the ſtraungers only to fall downe and worſhip hym after their coũtrey cuſtome. And after a while, the king as though he had bene aboute ſome matters of importaunce, returned agayne into the feaſte: and then he Percians fell downe and worſhipped hym after ſuche ſorte as was deuyſed. But Policarpon that ſat aboue the kynge at the borde, aſked one in ſkorne that touched the ground with his chynne, why he kyſſed no harder. With which wordes he moued Alexander

Calysthenes
[illegible] speche
to reprehe
the kinges [illegible]
[illegible]
and to [illegible]
flatterers.

See the pryde
of men, yt
god [illegible]
[illegible].

Policarpō

ander to yre, wherof he was euer vnpacient. As that, he ſayde vnto Polycarpon: It is thou that diſdayneſt to honour me: ſhall I be mocked of the alone: He aunſwered that it was not ſeamely a king ſhould be ſkorned, nor yet a ſubiect be deſpyſed. With whiche worde the kyng plucked him from the table and threwe him downe. to whome he ſayde, fallynge grouelynges vpon the earth: Lo haſt yͧ not done thy ſelf, that before thou diddeſt ſkorne in an other mã, & therupon he commaũded him to ward, and ſo brake vp the feaſt. Polycarpon being thus puniſhed, was afterwardes pardonyd. But Caliſtenes whoſe contempt and ſtubburnes the kynge had longe grudged at, grounded his diſpleaſure then more deaper, vpõ whome there chaũſed ſhortly after an apt occaſiõ to be reuengyd. It was a cuſtome (as it hath bene ſayd before) emonges the noble men of Macedon to put their ſonnes when they were paſt their childhode in ſeruice to the king, as pages to do neceſſary buſines about his perſon. Their vſage was to watche nightlie by courſe at the chambre doore where the kyng lay. The concubines were brought in by theym, by an other way then where the guarde watched. They lykewyſe receyued the horſes of the gromes of the ſtable and brought them to the kyng when he leaped on. They alwayes were about yͤ kyng both in hunting and in battayll, and were brought vp in the ſtudy of lyberall ſciences. The chiefeſt honour was geuen vnto them, becauſe they might ſitte and eate wyth the kynge, none had power to correcte theym wyth ſtrypes but only the kynge hym ſelf. This company was like a maſſe or ſtore, from where al the captains and gouernours of the Macedons dyd come. From

Alexander was enclyned to yre.

A kynge sholde not be scornede, nor a subiect dispisede.

A treaſon conſpired agaynſt Alexander.

Soſtrates

thence came their latter kinges whoſe lynage the power of the Romaynes longe after did extinct. Harmolaus one of that nombꝛe, becauſe he had ſtrikē a boꝛe (whome the kyng had thought to haue ſtriken hym ſelf, was by his commaundement beaten, and ſcourged wyth roddes, whyche rebuke he toke greuouſlye, and complayned to Soſtrates his frēd, that was one of the ſame company. Whyche ſeyng the body toꝛne, wherunto he had ſo great affection, & peraduenture offēded alſo with the king befoꝛe foꝛ ſome other cauſe ſtirred ſo Harmolaus (whyche was pꝛouoked ſuffyciently alredy) that eche gaue fayth to other to fynd a way to deſtroye the kynge. Whyche they executed not wyth eny chyldiſhe pꝛocedyng, but wyſely agreed to bꝛyng Nycoſtratus, Antipater, Aſclepiodoꝛus, & Philotas, into the felowſhip of their cōſpiracie. And afterwardes they ioyned vnto them moꝛe, Anticles, Elaptomus, & Phimmanes. But the meane how to perfourme this purpoſe ſeamed very difficult, becauſe it behoued al thē to watche togethers. And it was the vſage that accoꝛding to their courſes ſome watched one nighte, and ſome another. Foꝛ if eny ſhould happen emonges them, that were not pꝛeuye to the matter, the ſame myght be a let to the whole enterpꝛiſe, Therfoꝛe about chaungyng the courſe of theyꝛ watche, & in other pꝛeparaciō foꝛ thexecution of their purpoſe, ther paſſed .xxxii. dayes. At length the night came when the whole nōbꝛe of the cōſpiratours ſhuld watch togethers, who reioyſed greatly emōges thē ſelues, that eche had kepte fayth to other, wherof ſo many dayes ſylence had geuen good pꝛoufe, duryng which time neither feare, noꝛ hope, had alterid eny of their mindes: ſo great was the pleaſure they had cō ceyued agaynſt the king, or els the fidelyte they bare eche to other. Thei were ſtãding at the dore where the kĩg did eate, to thintẽt yͭ at his riſing frõ the banquet, they myght bring hĩ to his chamber. But Alexãders fortune, & the pleaſauntnes of ſuch as were in hys cõpany, moued him to drĩke largely wherby & by reaſon of other paſtimes & deuiſes, the time was ſo prolõged, yͭ the cõſpiratours ſtode in a marueylous perplexitie. For one while they were glad becauſe they truſted to find him drõke whẽ they ſhuld go about their enterpryſe, & an other while they were in great agony leſt he ſhuld ſit til day light, for then the cuſtome was to releaue yͤ watche, & other to ſuccede in their places & ſynce their courſe ſhuld not be come agayne til the. vii. night after, they could not be aſſured yͭ euery one of thẽ would keape the thyng ſecreate al yͤ tyme. But whẽ the day began to appeare, & Alexander was ryſen from the bãquet, thei were ſo glad to execute their malice, yͭ they became ioyful to receiue the kĩg. There was a womã accuſtomed to haũt the court (which being extraught of her minde, and ſemĩg by ſome inſpyracion to ſhew thinges to come) mette Alexander, and would in no wyſe ſuffre hĩ paſſe, but perſuaded hĩ by al meanes ſhe could deuiſe, to returne & ſit downe agaĩ. He ſayde to her in ſporte that the goddes gaue hym good aduyſe. and therupõ called backe agayne hys familiers, and ſat drinikng til it was two houres after day lyght. By which time an other company had realeaued the watche, & were ſtanding before the kynges chamber dore: yet for al that the conſpiratours remained ſtyll after the tyme of their watche expired: So vehement is the hope whiche mens myndes conceiue when they be drowned in the deſire of greate thinges.

The wicked ar
vehement, to be
bringe their wick
intentes to effect.

The

The king ſpake more gently to them then he was accuſtumyd, and willed them to goe to their reſt, for ſo much as they had watched al yͤ night before. & gaue vnto euery one of thē in reward .50. ſeſtercies, with cōmendacion of their diligēce, yͭ they contynued theyr watche lenger then their tyme. Being thus deceyued of the great hope they were in, they departed to theyr lodginges, in expectaciō of the night when their courſe ſhuld come agayn. But Ephimanes whych either by the gentlenes the kynge ſhewed him emongeſt the reſt or els that he thought the prouidence of God had withſtand their purpoſe, ſodenly chaūged his minde, & openid the matter they had gone about to his brother Eurilochus, that was not priuie to the matter before. The puniſhement of Philotas was ſo freſhe in euery mans memory, yͭ Eurilochus layd ſtreightewayes hādes vpon his brother, and brought hym into the court. He called to the watche and ſhewed thē that he brought newes pertayning to the kynges ſaueguarde. which thing well appeared, aſwel by their cōming at ſuch a time, as alſo by their ſadnes, which was a teſtimony of their troubled mides. The watchmē called vp Ptolomeus & Leonatus that lay win the kinges chambre, which ſtreightway brought thē into the king, & wakened him, that by reaſon of his much drinking lay in a dead ſleape. It was lōg or he awoke, but by litle & litle he came to hymſelf, & aſked what the matter was. Thē ſaid Eurilochus: thāked be the goddes yͭ haue not vtterlye determined the ruine of our famely, For though my brother purpoſed an heynous act, yet is he come to repentaunce, by hī the matter is brought to light. This ſame veri night treaſō was cōſpired agaynſt you, the authours therof be ſuch as you would ſcarſely thynke. And therupō

Ephymanes diſcloſed the conſpyracye.

Eurilochꝰ

Ephimanes declared al thinges in ordre, with the names of the conſpiratours. It is certayne that Calyſtenes was not named as one priuy to that treaſon. but it was confeſſed yͭ he gladly gaue eare to others talke, whē they blamed & ſpake euil of the kynges proceedinges. Some do adde therunto, that when Harmolaus did complayne to Caliſtenes howe the king had beatē him. he had hym remēbred how he was a mā. But whether he ſpake it to take the thing in paciēce or els to ſturre him to further malice, it remayneth ī doubte. Whē the kinge was fully awaked, & called to his memory the peril he was in, gaue Eurilochus fifty talentes, with the forfeit of a riche mans goodes called Tiridates, and forgaue his brother before his pardō was required. He cōmaunded the principals of this treaſon to be kept bound, and emonges them Caliſtenes, who beinge taken and brought into the courte, the kyng ſlept al that day and the nyghte enſuynge he was ſo heuy with drinking and watching The next day he called a great counſail, wherat the fathers and kinſfolkes of the cōſpiratours were preſent, not very well aſſured of their owne ſaueguarde because that by the lawe of the Macedons all ought to dye, that were eny thyng a kynne to traytours. All the conſpiratours excepte. Caliſtenes, by the kynges cōmaūdemēt were brought furth, immediatly cōfeſſing the whole treaſon they had deuiſed. Then euery man preſēt reuiled them, and the king enquired what he hadde done to theym, why they ſhoulde conſpyre hys death. When all the other ſtode ſtyll and helde theyr peace, Harmolaus aunſwered thus: ye demaunde thys thynge of vs, as though ye knewe not the mater. we went about to kyll you,

It is daungerous
to geve eare vnto
suche, as speake
euill of the prynce
proceedinges.

The macedons
had a lawe yt
all they should
dye that were
a kynne to a
treatours.

The wordes of Harmolaus to the kynge.

becauſe ye beganne to reigne ouer vs, as if we were ſlaues & not free borne. As he was ſpeaking thoſe wordes his father Perſepolys called hym traytoure and murtherer of hys parẽtes, ſtoppynge his mouth with his hande, becauſe he ſhould ſpeake no further. Then the kyng plucked his father backe, and willed Harmolaus to ſpeake, ſuche thynges as he hadde learned of his maiſter Caliſtenes. Then Harmolaus proceded: I wyl vſe your benefite, and declare thoſe thynges whiche I haue learned to the greate myſchief of vs all, How ſmale is the nombre of the Macedons remaynyng, that haue eſcaped your cruelty? Attalus Philotas, Parmenio, Lynceſtes Alexãder & Clytus, are now deade, but to our enemies behoue they be alyue. They ſtode in the fight, & defendyd the w^t ſwerdis receuĩg woũdes for your glory & victory, which now be very wel rewarded. The one be ſprinkeld youre table with his bloude, & the other could not be ſuffred to dye a ſimple death. Thus the captaynes of your people be tormẽted & put to death: a pleſaũt ſpectacle to ẏ Percians, of whome they wer victorours Parmenio by whome ye ſlew your enemye Attalus, was put to death without iudgemẽt. Thus ye vſe the hãdes of vs wretches as inſtrumẽtes one to kill another, and ſuche as yeuen now we were your tormentours, ſtreyght wayes you commaũd to be tormentyd of others. At thoſe wordes the multitude began to ſhoute againſt Harmolaus, and his father drewe his ſworde to haue ſlayne him, if he had not bene letted by the kyng, whiche commaunded Harmolaus to ſpeake, requiring the reſte to heare him paciently. Which (he ſayd) enforced the cauſe of hys owne puniſhment. At length with great

6. noble men, and worthe Captaynes.

his lame worde and term.

labour they helde their peace, and then Harmolaus began agayn: how liberall is he to ſuffer rude children to ſpeake? when the voice of Caliſtenes is ſhut vp in priſon becauſe he alone is able to tell his tale, and why becauſe he feareth the free ſpeache of an innocent, and becauſe he can not endure to beholde his face, and yet I wyl iuſtifie he is not pryuie to this matter. But other there be here that purpoſed wyth me a noble enterpriſe, of whom there is not eny that can accuſe Caliſtenes of conſente, and yet oure ſo pacient and righteous a kīg hath determined heare his death. Theiſe be the rewardes of the Macedons, whoſe bloude is miſuſed as vyle and of no valeur. He hath .xxx. M. mules cariēg ſpoyle and treaſure, and yet the poore ſouldiers cary nothing with them but vnrewarded woundes and ſkarres. All whyche thynges, we did eaſely ſuffre before he did betray vs to the barbarous, and after a newe trade, of victourours make vs ſlaues. He allowethe the apparayl & diſciplyne of the Percians, & deſpiſeth the maners of hys own countreye. And therfore we determined to kyl hym, not king of Macedon but king of Perce, and as a fugitiue perſecutyd him by the lawe of armes. He woulde haue the Macedons knele to hym and worſhip him as a god. He refuſed Philip for his father, and if eny God hadde bene before Jupiter, he woulde haue refuſed him likewiſe. Doe you maruaylle if free men can not beare thys his pride? what can we hope for at hys handes? ſeyng we muſte eyther dye, as innocētes, or els that is worſe thē death, liue & remaine in boūdage as ſlaues. He is greatlye in my debte, if by this he coulde amende, for he may learne of me, the thynge that free hartes cannot en-

dure

deure. Spare thē whoſe age ſhalbe ſufficiently tourmented with the loſſe of their children, but vpon vs cauſe executyon to be done, to thyntent we may obtayne by our owne death, the lyberty we ſoughte for by his. When Harmolaus had ſpokē theſe wordes, the king then aunſwered after this maner: How falſe theſe thynges be which he hath learned of hys inſtructour, my pacience doth declare. For notwithſtandinge he before confeſſed this treaſon, yet my mynde was ye ſhuld heare what he could ſay: knowyng verye well that when I gaue lybertie to thys chiefe to ſpeake, that he would vſe the ſame rage and furye in his talke, whiche before moued him to haue kylled me, whome he ought to haue loued as hys father. Of late when that in huntynge he vſed a greate preſumption, I commaunded, hym to be chaſtiſed after the cuſtome of our countrey vſed by the kinges of Macedon. Whiche chaſtiſemēt we muſt graūt nedefull to be done, lyke as the pupylles bee accuſtomed of their tutors, the wiues of their huſbādes, and ſeruauntes of their maiſters. This was all the crueltie I vſed towardes hym, which he would haue reuengyd with murther, and treaſon. But gentle I am to all perſones, that ſuffre me vſe myne owne diſpoſicion, ſynce you youre ſelfe done knowe, it were ſuperfluous for me to reherſe. I can not maruell at all, though punyſhmente of traytours be diſpleſaunt to Harmolaus, ſynce he him ſelfe is in the ſame caſe, for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for hys owne purpoſe. I pardonyd Lynceſtes Alexander. whiche was accuſed by two witneſſes, that he twiſe conſpired treaſon againſt me, and agayne conuicted, yet deferryd

I his puniſhment two yeares, tyll you your ſelues required he might haue his deſeruing. Towchig Attalus, ye remembre very well howe he wrought treaſon agaynſt me before I was kyng. And for Clytus I wold god he had not moued me to yre, whoſe raſh tounge ſpeaking the rebuke and ſhame bothe of me and you, I ſuffred lenger then he would haue done me, ſpeaking the lyke. The clemencye of the kynges and princes conſiſteth not only in their owne diſpoſicions, but in ſuch as be vnder their ſubiection. For the rigour of ſuch as be rulers, is mitigatid with humylytie. But when mens mindes be voyde of reuerence & high & lowe be confounded as alike, thẽ force is neceſſary to repulce violence. But why do I marueyle, that he layed cruelty to my charge, that durſt obiect towardes me couetouſnes. I wyl not cal you to witnes one by one, leſt I ſhould braide you with liberalitie, by making declaraciõ what I haue beſtowed vpon you. Behold the whole multitud, which a litle while ago had no thing els but their bare armour, doe they not lye in ſyluer beddes? be not their tables charged with plate, and poſſeſſe the not whole flockes of ſlaues? They are not able to ſuſtayne the ſpoyles of ther enemies. But it is ſayd the Perciãs be honoured of me whom we haue conqueryd. Truly they be ſo and yet, what greater proufe cã there be of my moderacion, then that I do not reigne proudely ouer ſuche as I haue ſubdued. I came into Aſia not vtterli to ſubuert the naciõs, nor to make the one half of the world deſert, but to geue the cõquerid cauſe not to repent them of our victory, This is the occaſion they gladlye fyghte for you, and for youre kingdome ſpẽd their bloud: which if they wer proudly vſed, would ſtreight rebel againſt you. The poſſeſ

Rigour is mittigated, wth humilitie.

Moderation

ſion

That poſſeſſion is not durable, that is goten & wt violence.

ſion is not durable whiche is poſſeſſyd by violence, but the thankes of gentlenes receiued, endureth euer laſtingly. If we purpoſe to enioye Aſia, and not to make a progreſſe through it, we muſte make thē partakers of our clemency, & thē their fidelitie ſhal make our empire ſtable aud perpetuall. And truly we haue nowe more then we can well wyſhe or deſire. Couetouſnes is an vnſaciable thyng, ſpecially when men deſire to fill the veſſell that ronneth ouer. But ye wil ſay that I myxe and bryng their cuſtomes emonges ours? It is ſo, and whie? becauſe I ſee in diuers nacions right many thinges whiche we nede not be aſhamed to folow. And ſo greate an Empire as we haue gotten cannot other wyſe be aptly gouernyd, except we deliuer ſome thyngs to thē, and receiue likewyſe ſome thiges agayn. One thyng is to be laught at, that I ſhould refuſe Jupiter for my father, being ſo acknowledged by his oracle: as who ſayth, the anſwere of the gods were in my power. he proffered yͤ name of his ſōne vnto me, whych was not a thȳg vnmete for the thingꝭ we purpoſed. I woulde wyſhe yͭ the Indiās beleaued me to be a god, for yͤ ſucceſſe in warre ſtandeth much by fame, and yͭ which is faulſely beleaued, ſōtime worketh the effect of thingꝭ true. Do you note me geuē to exceſſe & prodigalite, becauſe I guarniſhed your armour wͭ gold and ſiluer? My purpoſe was to ſhewe to men accuſtumed with ſuche thynges nothing to be more vile then ſuch kynd of metal, & to declare that the Macedōs inuincible in other thingꝭ, could not be ouercome with gold it ſelf. After this maner I ſhal blīd the eyes of yͤ barbaroꝰ which are wōt at the firſt ſight to wōder at thinges, be thei neuer ſo baſe & vile. And in yͭ we ſhew to make no eſtimaciō of

A founde and a falſe delution. and no true oracle.

it, we

ſhal declare to al men that we are not come for deſire of gold nor ſiluer, but to ſubdue the hole world. Frō which glory (thou traitour, thou woldeſt haue bereaued me, and betraied the Macedōs (I being ſlayne) to the barbarous nacions. I am exhorted, to ſpare your parentes. It is nedeful I ſhould make him priuye what I haue determyned of them: no I wyll not: and to that intent he might dye wyth the greater dolour, yf he hath any care or memory of them. It is long ago ſins I did fordo the cuſtume of puttynge thinnocent parentes and kinſfolkes of traytours to death wͭ the offenders. And I now profeſſe to pardō & haue thē al in the ſame eſtymacion I had before. I knowe why thou wouldeſt haue thy maiſter Caliſtenes brought furth, which only eſteymed the being of his ſorte, bicauſe thou deſireſt to heare pronoūced of mouth, thoſe rayling wordes, which euen now yͤ diddeſt ſpyt out agaynſt me. If he had bene a Macedon borne, I had brought him in to the place with the: a worthy mayſter for ſuch a dyſcyple. But being borne in another coūtrey, he is ſubiect to an other law. Whē he had ſpokē theſe wordes, he diſmiſſed the coūſail, & commaunded al ſuche as were condēpnyd, to be deliuered to the ſouldiours of their owne bādes. Who becauſe they woulde declare by ſome cruelty, the loue they bare towardes their prince, ſlew theim al by tormentes. Caliſtenes alſo died vpon the racke, innocēt of the conſpiracy againſt the kinges perſō, but a mā not pliable to the cuſtome of the courte, & abhorring from the diſpoſition of flatterers. There was neuer thynge that brought the Greakes in greater indignatiō againſt Alexander, then that he not onely kylled, but cauſed to be tormented to death, & that withoute iudge.

fordoe.

Caliſtenes innocent
of treaſon, yet
not plyable to
the cuſtome of
the courte, but
a diſpiſer of
flatterers. wh
were thinges w
were cauſe of
his deathe.

iudge[illegible] man endued with godly maners and good ſciences, by whom he was perſwadid to lyue when he purpoſed to haue died for ſorow that he had ſlayne Clitus: which his cruelty, repentaunce folowed that came to late. But leaſt he might nouriſhe idlenes, apte for ſowyng of ſedicious rumours, he marched toward India alwaies more glorious in warre then after his victorye.

The deſcription of India,

The whole countrey of India lieth chiefely towardes the Eaſt, cōteyning more in length, then it doth in breadthe. The Northe partes be ful of mounteines and hilles, but all the reſt of the land is plaine, hauinge many faire riuers, which runninge out of the mount Caucaſus, do paſſe pleaſauntly through the countrey.

Indus.

Indus is more colde then eny of the other riuers, whoſe water is not vnlike the coulour of the ſea.

Ganges.

But of al the riuers in yͤ orient, Ganges is moſt excellent, whiche runninge frō the ſouth paſſeth directly through many great mountaines, vntil that by the encountringe of rockes, hys courſe is turned towarde the eaſt, where it is receiued into the red ſea, the violence of the ſtreame breaketh downe his bankes, ſwalowing in trees, & much of the grounde. In many places the ſtreame is kept in with rockes, wherupon it beateth.

Aceſynes,

But where the grounde is more ſofte, there the riuer becommeth more larger. & maketh many Ilandes. The greatenes of Ganges is much encreaſid by Aceſines which mete before they enter into the ſea, at their meetyng, the water is violently troubled, whiles the one reſiſteth the others enter, neither of them ſeame to geue place to other.

Diardenes

Diardenes is a riuer of the leſſe fame, bycauſe it runneth in the vttermoſt boundes of India, but yet it bryngeth forth Crocadyles as the Nyle doth, & alſo Delphines, with monſters vnknowen

Erimanthus.

to other nacions. Croked Erymanthus with hys many turnynges and reflexions is conſumed by the inhabitours with wateryng their grounde which is the cauſe that when it draweth nere the ſea, it becometh very lytle, and beareth no name. Ther be many other riuers that do deuide the countrey, but none of them be ſo famous as theiſe, becauſe they do not run ſo farre. The northe wynde doth blaſte and harme moſt thoſe partes that be next vnto the ſea But thoſe wyndes be ſo broken wyth the toppes of the mountaynes, that they can not endōage the inwarde partes of the cuntrey, wherfore fruites be verye plentyfull there and perfite. But that region doth differ ſo muche for thordinarye courſe of tyme in other partes of the world, that when other cōutries be burnid moſt with the ſunne, India is coueryd ouer wyth ſnow. And when other places be froſen, the heate is ther moſt intollerable and yet there appeare not eny naturall cauſe why it ſhould be ſo. The couler of the Indian ſea not differing much from the water of other ſeas, did take his name of kyng Erithrus, wherof the ignoraūte toke opiniō yͤ water of thoſe ſeas yͭ was redde. The land is very haboūdāt of flaxe, wherof the more parte of their garmentes be made. The twygges of the trees be ſo tender, that they receyue the print of letters like waxe. The byrdes by teaching cōuterfeyt mēs voyce. There be many beaſtes which are not bredde, emonges other nacions. Rhynocerytis, be there brought furth, but not bredde. The Elyphantes of that countrey be ſtronger then thoſe yͭ be made tame in Affrike, and their bignes do aunſwere vnto their ſtrength. The water of the riuers do cary downe gold, & ronne mildly without eny great fall.

The Sea doth caſt vpon the ſhore bothe perles and precious ſtones, whereof procedid the cauſe of their great riches, after there marchãdiſe was once knowẽ to other nacions: the purginges of the ſeas being thẽ eſteamed, as mans fanſy would make the price. The diſpoſiciõs of the men (as in al other places) be according to the ſytuacion of the countreys they dwell in. They make there garmentes of lynnen cloth, whych couer their bodyes downe to there feete. They bynde ſooles vnder their feete, and wrappe roules of linnen aboute ther heades. Such as be in eny degre either of nobilytie, or ryches, haue precious ſtones hanging at there eares, and couer all there armes wyth braſlettes and ornamentes of gould. They vſe great curioſity in kemmyng of there heades, whyche they round very ſeldome. They ſhaue without eny forme of grauyte, all partes of there face ſauyng their chinne. But the exceſſe in voluptuouſnes (whyche they cal magnyfycẽce) vſed by thẽ, doth excede the vyces of al nacions. When there wil is to be ſene abrode, their ſeruantes cary about thẽ perfuming pannes of ſyluer, & fyl al the waies where they go with ſweate ſauoures, they thẽ ſelues be borne in litters of golde hãging full of pearles, & the garmentes they were be of golde and purple enpaled together, The armed men folow their litter, and ſuch as be of their garde, emõg whõ there be birdes borne vpõ boughes, whych they haue taught alwayes to ſinge, when they be occupied in earneſt matters, In the kynges palayce there be pillers of golde carued aboute wyth vynes of golde, wherin the images of thoſe byrdes they delight moſte in, be artificially wrought. The courte is open to all commers, when the kynges do kembe and dreſſe

The voluptuouſnes and exceſſe in the kinges of India.

their headdes, thẽ thei vſe to geue aunſwere to the ambaſſadours, and to doe Juſtice vnto their people. When their ſoles bee taken of, their feete bee anointed with ſwete odours. The greateſt trauaile thei take, is when thei hunte wilde beaſtes encloſed in Parkes, whiche thei ſtrike whiles their Concubines bee ſinging and daliyng with them. The arrowes that thei ſhote, be of twoo cubites longe, whiche dooe not the effecte of the force thei bee ſhotte withall, by reaſon of their weyght, whiche is an impediment to their ſwiftenes, wherein the propertie of the arrowe chieflie conſiſteth. In ſmall iourneis thei vſe to ride on horſebacke, but when thei haue to trauaile ferther, thei bee caried vpon Elephantes, whoſe huge bodies bee couered al ouer with golde. And becauſe no vice ſhoulde wante emonges their corrupte maners, great rowtes of concubines doe folowe them in golden litters: The Quenes haue their bandes ſeperate by them ſelues, whiche in all exceſſe of voluptuouſneſſe be nothing inferiour vnto the kinges. It belongeth to the women there to dreſſe meat, and thei alſo ſerue men of wine, whereof there is greate plentie emonges the Indians. When the King hath largelie dronke, and is fallen in a ſleape, his Concubines vſe to carie him into his chamber, calling vpon their Goddes, with a ſonge after their countrie maner. Who woulde thinke that emonges al theſe vices, there were any regarde hadde of vertue? There is emonges them a rude and an vnciuil kinde of people, whom thei cal wiſe men, whiche counte it the moſte glorious thing to preuente their awne deathe, and thei vſe to burne them ſelues whiles thei bee a liue. It is imputed for a great ſhame to ſuche as either can not wel ſtere for age, or haue not their perfeict health, if thei prolong their life till their

The wiſe men of Indie.

natural death approche. For there is no honour geuen to thoſe bodies that die for age. Thei thinke the fiers be defiled, if the bodies be not aliue that be burned in them Suche as liue in Cities after a Ciuill maner, attaine to the moſte apt knowelege of the ſtarres mouing, and of the Prophecying of thinges to come. For thei can not thinke that any man doth ſhorten his life, that loketh for death without feare. Thei eſteme thoſe for goddes whom thei beginne once to worſhippe, and ſpeciallie trees, the violating of the whiche, thei forbidde vnder peine of death. Thei counte after fiftie daies to the Moneth, and notwithſtanding limitte their yeres, as thei dooe in other places. Thei note not their times by ſuche courſe of the Moone, as is cōmunlie vſed, that is from the full Moone, but frō the firſt quarter when ſhe beginneth firſt horned, & by countiug after theſame maner, make them the ſhorter. There bee many other thinges reported of thē, with the whiche I thought not neceſſarie to interrupt ẏ ordre of this hiſtorie. As Alexander entred into India, the Princes of the countrie came vnto him, ſubmitting them ſelues, and declaring that he was the thirde man that euer came emonges thē, being begotten of Iupiter. Thei ſaied that Hercules & Bacchus was not knowen to them, but onely by fame, but thei reioiſed that thei might beholde him preſentlie with their eies. Alexander receiued thē with all gentleneſſe he coulde deuiſe, & willed them to accompanie him, becauſe he woulde vſe them, as guides in his iourneie. But when he ſawe that the whole nūbre came not, he ſent Epheſtion, & Perdicas with parte of his armeie before, to ſubdue ſuche as woulde not ſubmit thē ſelues, and willed them to goe forwardes till thei came to the riuer of Indus, & there to make boates, wherby he might tranſport his armeie. And becauſe thei had to paſſe many riuers, the boates were ſo deuiſed, that thei might be taken a ſounder to be caried in cartes, and afterwardes ioigned again together. He appointed Craterus to folowe him with the Phalanx, & he with ſuche horſemen and footemen that were light armed wente before, and being encountred in his waie, fought a ſmal battaill, and did driue his enemies into the nexte Citie. When Craterus was come, to thintent he might ſtrike terrour emonges thoſe people that hadde not yet proued the Macedones force, commaunded that when thei wanne the Citie, thei ſhoulde kill bothe man, woman, and childe, & burne theſame to the harde gounde. But whiles he ridde about the walles, he was ſtriken with an arrowe. Notwithſtanding the citie was wonne, and all put to the ſwerde: the very houſes not eſcaping the victorious crueltie. After this he ſubdued an obſcure nacion, and came to a citie called Nyſa. It chaũced that whiles thei encamped in a woodde before the citie, there fell a colde in the night, that more afflicted the Macedones, then euer it had doen before any other place.

Phalange

The citie of Nyſa.

Againſt the whiche thei prepared the remedy that was next at hande, and cut doune the woodde to make them great fires. The flame whereof caught the ſepulchres belonging to the citie, whiche by reaſon thei were made of Cedre, were ſone ſet on fire, and neuer lefte burning till thei were all conſumed. That fire made bothe alarum to the Citie, and to the Campe: for thereby the Citizens iudged that their enemies would make ſome attempt againſt them, and the Macedones perceiued by the barking of the dogges, and noiſe of menne, that the Indians woulde ſalie out vpon them. Wherefore Alexander iſſuing out of his campe in ordre of battail ſlewe

ſuche

ſuche of them as attempted the fight. Thereupon thei within the citie became of diuerſe opinions, ſome were minded to yelde, and other thought good to aduenture the extremitie. When Alexander underſtode of their diuiſion, he cauſed his menne to abſteine from ſlaughter, and onely to mainteine the ſiege. At length thei were ſo weried with the diſcommodities of the warre, that thei yelded thē ſelues. Thei affirmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who in deede builded their citie at the fote of a mountaine called Meroe. The qualitie of whiche mountaine being reported to Alexander by thinhabiters, he ſent victuales before, & paſſed thether with his whole armie, encamping vpon the toppe thereof. The mountaine grewe full of Uines and Iuie, abounding with ſpringes that flowed out in euery place. The ſame was alſo plentifull of many kindes of apples of moſte pleaſaunt taſte, the grounde alſo brought foorth corne without any cultiuacion. There grewe alſo plentie of Laurel trees with many kindes of wilde fruicte. I can not impute it to any mocion of Religion, but rather to plentie and wantonnes, that cauſed thē to repaire thither, where of the Iuie and the vine leaues thei made thē ſelues garlandes, and ran vp and doune after a diſſolute maner, all the holowes and valeies there about rebounding with the voice of ſo many thouſandes, calling vpon Bacchus, to whom that place was dedicate. Whiche licence & libertie begon of a fewe was ſpreade ſo ſodeinlie through out the whole armie, that the ſouldiours ſcattred abroade without ordre, laie here & there repoſing thē ſelues vpon the graſſe and leaues that thei had gathered together, as it had been in a time of quiet and moſte aſſured peace. Whiche licenciouſneſſe of the ſouldiers riſing by chaunce, Alexander did not withſtande

The mount Meroe.

The grounde & brought forthe corne wthout any cultiuacion, wch fewe will beleue.

ſtand, but ten daies together made feaſtes to Bacchus, during which time he plentifullie banqueted his whole armeie. Who can therefore denie but that greatneſſe of fame and glorie, is oftentimes a benefite rather of fortune then of vertue? for their enemies hadde no harte to ſet vpon them, whiles thei were drowned in this exceſſe of banketting, dronkenſhip, and drowſenes, but were as muche afraied of their dronken noiſe, as if thei had harde their crie encountring with them in battail. Whiche felicitie preſeruing them here, did afterwardes defende them after theſame maner in the middes of their enemies, retourning as it were in triumphe from the Oceane Sea, when thei were geuen all to feſting and to dronkeneſſe. When Alexander deſcended from the mountaine, he went to a countrie called Dedala, whiche thinhabiters forſoke and fled to the wooddes and the wilde mountaines, and therefore he paſſed frō thens into Achadera, whiche he founde bothe burned and abandoned likewiſe of thinhabiters, whereby of neceſſitie he was compelled to vſe the warre after an other maner. For he diuided his armeie into diuerſe partes and ſhewed his powre in many places at ones. By whiche meanes he oppreſſed thē before thei coulde prouide, and ſubdued thē to their vtter ruine. Ptolomeus toke moſte Cities, but Alexander wanne the greateſt and afterwardes ioigned againe his armeie together, whiche he hadde thus diuided. That doen he went forwardes and paſſed a riuer called Coaſpe, where he left Cenon to beſiege a riche citie called Bezira, and he him ſelfe went to Amazaga, where Aſſacanus being dead hadde lefte the dominion both of the Countrie and the Citie to his mother Cleophes. There were .xxx. thouſande fotemen to defende that Citie, whiche both was

The greatneſſe
of fame and
glorie, is not
alwaies the
rewarde of
vertue.

Dedala.

Achadera.

Coaſpe.

Bezicia.

Amazaga.

Quene Cleophes.

well fortified and ſtronge of ſituacion, being encloſed vpon the Eaſte with a ſwifte riuer, hauing ſtepe bankes defending the Citie, that it coulde not bee approched on that ſide. Upon the South and the Weſte partes nature (as it were for the nonce) had planted highe rockes liyng betwixte them, and depe holowes and pittes made of olde antiquitie: whereas the rockes ceaſſed, there beganne a dike of a wounderful depth and wideneſſe. The wal wherewith the citie was encloſed, was xxxv. furlonges in compaſſe, whereof the nether partes were builded of ſtone, and the vpper partes of claie. Yet ſtones were mixed with the claie, to thintent that the fraile ſubſtaunce clinging to the harder, the one ſhoulde binde the other. And leaſt the earth waſhed vpon with the raine might fall altogether, there were ſtanchinges of timbre putte betwixte to ſtaie the whole worke: Whiche couered ouer with bordes was a waie for men to goe vpon.

Clynginge

ſtaunchinges

Alexander beholding this kinde of fortificacion was vncertaine what to doe. For he ſawe he coulde not approche to the walles, but by filling of thoſe dikes, and holowe places. And that he could not otherwiſe fil thē, then by making of a mount, whiche was the onely waie he had to bring his engines to the walles. But whiles he was vieuyng the Toune after that maner, he was ſtriken from the wall with an arrowe in the thighe. Whiche he pulled oute, and without wrapping of his wounde called for his horſe, and letted not for his hurt to giue ordre for ſuche thinges as he thought expediēt. But at length when by hanging of his legge, the bloud drue from the wounde and waxed colde, whereby his hurte beganne to paine him, he then ſaied: That he was called the Sonne of Iuppiter, but yet he felte in him

Alexander hurte in the thighe with an arrowe.

himſelfe the paſſions of a diſeaſed bodie. Notwithſtanding he woulde not returne into the campe, before he hadde vieued all thinges that were neceſſarie, and appoincted all thinges he woulde haue doen. After that the ſouldiours had receiued their appointemēt, by plucking downe of houſes without the Toune, thei gotte great plentie of ſtuffe to make the mount withall. And by caſting ſtockes of trees on heapes into the dikes and holowe places, the mount within nine daies was raiſed vp to the toppe of the walles, and the towres were plāted vpon theſame: ſuche was the laboure, and diligence the ſouldiours vſed in the matier.

Alexander, after
his hurt gotten =
made him ſelf
to be a man &
not a god.

The king before his wounde was cloſed vp went to ſee how the workes went forwarde, and when he perceiued them in ſuche caſe, commended the Souldiours for their diligence, and cauſed thinges to bee brought to the walles, out of the whiche thei that defended the walles were ſore afflicted with ſhotte. And by reaſon thei had not ſeen any ſuche kinde of worke before, were wonderfullie amaſed, ſpeciallie when thei behelde the towres of ſuche bigneſſe come forwardes, & yet coulde not perceiue by what meanes thei were moued: iudged thoſe thinges to bee doen by the powre of the Goddes. And beſides thei coulde not thinke it a matier of mans inuencion, that ſo great dartes and ſpeares, as came emonges them, ſhoulde be ſhotte by engines: diſpairing therefore of the defence of their Citie, thei retired into the Caſtle. And becauſe thei coulde not be ſatiſfied any maner of waie till thei had yelded them ſelues, thei ſent Embaſſadours to the king to aſke pardō. Whiche thing obteined at his hande, the Quene with a great traine of noble women came foorth, bearing in their handes cuppes of Golde full of wine. Who preſenting her litle

Reſtorement

Some eſteme beautie & before mercie. but [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] taken Ora. in poſſeſſi.

ſonne, before the Kinges feete, not onely obteined pardone but alſo reſtoremēt of her former dignitie. Wherfore ſome thought that her beautie procured her more fauour, then his mercie. But this is certaine that the childe, whiche afterwardes ſhe brought furth (whoſoeuer did beget it) was called Alexander. Frō this place Policarpon was ſent with a powre vnto a Citie called Ora, where he ouerthrewe in battail thinhabiters that encountred with him, whereby he gotte the Citie into his poſſeſſion. There were many other Cities obſcure of fame, that came into Alexanders handes by thabandoning of thinhabiters, whiche aſſembled them ſelues togither in armure & kept a rocke called Aornum. The fame was that Hercules had beſieged theſame before time in vaine, and by reaſon of an earthquake enforced to departe. When Alexander viewed this rocke, & ſawe howe ſtepe it was and vnpaſſable, became voide of counſail till ſuche time as an olde man that knewe wel the place came to him with his two ſonnes, offring for a rewarde to guide his men awaie vp to the toppe.

The rocke called Aornum.

Vnpaſſable

Alexander promiſed them .iiii. ſcore talentes, and keping one of his ſonnes as pledge, ſente him to performe that he hadde promiſed. Mulinus the Kinges Secretarie was appointed with certaine ſouldiours light armed to folowe the guide, whoſe purpoſe was to deceiue the Indians by fetching a compaſſe aboute the rocke. But theſame rocke was not, as the more parte bee, whiche lying aſlope hath waies vp vnto the toppe by degrees. For it ſtode bolte vpright after the faſhion of a but, broade beneth, and euer as it grewe vpwarde, leſſe and leſſe, till it became ſharpe in the toppe. And it was encloſed on the one ſide with the riuer of Indus, hauing highe and ſtepe bankes, and vpon the other ſide with deepe dikes and holowe places, full of water and mudde. Wherefore there coulde be deuiſed no waie to winne it, excepte thoſe dikes were firſt filled. There was a woodde at hande whiche the king commaunded to bee cut doune, and cauſing the boowes to be ſhred of for the cariage, filled the holowes with the bare ſtockes. Alexander bare the firſt tree, and all the ſouldiers folowed after with a couragious ſhout, for there was no man that woulde refuſe to dooe that thei ſawe the king beginne: So that within. vii. daies the dikes and hollowe places were filled vp. Then the king appoincted the Agrians, and the archers to goe to the aſſaulte and did choſe. xxx. yong men of ſuche as he iudged moſt apt for the purpoſe out of his owne bande, appoincting Charus and one Alexander to be their conducters, and exhorted Alexander that the remembraũce of his name might make him hardie. At the firſt becauſe the haſard was ſo manifeſt, the king was not determined to aduentur his owne perſone. But when the trompet blewe to thaſſault, he was of ſuche a readie courage that he coulde not abſteine, but making a ſigne to his guarde yͭ thei ſhoulde folowe him, was the firſt that ſet foote vpon the rocke. Then there were fewe contented to tarie behinde, but many lefte their arraie where as thei ſtode in order of battail, and folowed the King. The chaunſe of many was miſerable whom the running riuer ſwalowed in, when thei fell downe from the rocke. Whiche ſight was ſoroweful to ſuche as were out of daunger, being admoniſhed by the peril of other, what thei ought to feare them ſelfes, hereupon their compaſſion being tourned into feare, lamented aſwell them ſelues, as thoſe whom thei ſawe die before their faces. At length thei went ſo farre furth, that without the getting of

Charus & Alexander.

the Rocke thei coulde not retire backe againe without their greate deſtruction. For their enemies rowled downe greate ſtones vpon theim, wherewith thei were eaſelie beaten downe, by reaſon the Rocke hadde ſo ſlippar and vnſtable ſtanding. Yet for all that, Charus and Alexander, whiche were appoincted the leading of the thirtie choſen ſouldiours, hadde gotten to the toppe, and beganne to fighte hande to hande. But there were ſo many Dartes caſte at theim from afarre, that thei receiued mo woundes, then thei coulde geue. Wherefore Alexander bothe mindefull of his name, and of his promiſe, whiles he foughte more egrelie then warelie, was encloſed aboute, and ſlaine. Whom when Charus ſawe dead, he ranne vpon his enemies, and vnmindefull of all thinges, ſauing of reuenge, ſlue many with his pike and diuerſe with his ſworde. But being laied at by ſo many at ones, he fell downe dead vpon the bodie of his frende. The death of theſe twoo ſo hardie younge menne, and of the reſte, moued Alexander greatlie, yet perceiuing no remedie in the matter, cauſed the retreicte to bee ſouned. It was greatlie for their ſauegarde, that thei retired by litle and litle without apperaunce of any feare. And the Indians contented to haue repulſed their enemies, purſued not after theim. Alexander hereupon was determined to leaue of his purpoſe, ſeing he ſawe no hope how to winne the rocke, yet he made a countenaũce as though he mente to continue the ſiege ſtill. For bothe he cauſed the waies to bee cloſed vp, and made an approche with towers of woodde, alwaies putting freſhe menne in place of theim that were weried. When the Indians perceiued Alexanders obſtinacie, twoo daies and twoo nightes thei banquetted continuallie, and plaied vpon

Slippar und
unstable.

Retraicte

timbrelles after their maner, to cauſe their enemies thinke that thei had no doubte in the ſiege, but truſted ſurlie to preuail. The third night the noiſe of their timbrelles ceaſſed, and many torches were ſeen burning, whiche the Indians hadde lighted to ſee whiche waie thei mighte eſcape downe the rocke in the darke night. Alexander ſente Balacrus to diſcouer the matier, who founde that the Indians were fledde, and that the Rocke was abandoned. Then a ſigne was geuen that the whole armeie ſhoulde geue a ſhowte together, whereby thei did ſtrike ſuche feare emonges their enemies flying withoute ordre, that many of theim thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped downe the Rockes and ſlewe theimſelues, whereof ſome maimed in their falling were left behinde by their fellowes that fled awaie. Thus the king being victorour of the place, rather then of the menne, teſtified notwithſtanding with ſolempne ſacrifices vnto the Goddes a greatneſſe of victorie, and ſet vp Alters vpon the Rocke to Minerua and Victoria.

Balacrus.

Abandoned.

And though the guides that he appointed to his light armed men, performed not ſo muche as thei promiſed, yet their rewarde was truly geuen them. And the rule of the rocke with the coũtrie there aboutes was cõmitted to Syſocoſtus, he himſelfe going forwardes with his armeie frõ thens to Echolyma. But vnderſtãding that certaine ſtreightes through the whiche he ſhoulde paſſe, were kepte by one Erix with twentie thouſande armed menne: He committed that parte of his armeie that were heauie armed to Cenon to be brought on by ſofte iorneies, and going before in perſon with the ſlingers and Archers, putte his enemies to flight, making the waie cleare for his armeie to paſſe that folowed after. The Indians, whether it were for the hatred thei bare

Siſocoſtus.
Echolima.

Erix.

Alexander did neuer ſhewe good countenance vnto traitors.

bare vnto their Capiteine, or els for to get the fauour of the victoror, killed Erix as he fled awaie, & brought his head, and his armoure vnto Alexander. He conſidering the fowleneſſe of the acte, woulde not honoure the doers for thenſample ſake, nor puniſhe thē becauſe thei ſerued his purpoſe. From thens by.xvi. remounges he came to that parte of the riuer of Indus, where Epheſtion hadde prepared all thinges in ſuche ſorte as he hadde commiſſion. One Omphis was King of that countrie, whiche before had perſuaded his father to ſubmit him ſelfe vnto Alexander. Who immediatlie vpon his fathers death ſent Embaſſadours vnto him to knowe his pleaſure, whether he ſhoulde take vpon him as a King before his comming, or els liue priuatelie in the meane ſeaſon. And although it was permitted him to gouerne as a King, yet he woulde not vſe the auctoritie that was graunted him. He had cauſed Epheſtion to be receiued in the beſte ſorte he coulde deuiſe, but notwithſtanding hadde not viſited him, becauſe he woulde not commit his perſone to any mans fidelitie but to the kinges. When he vnderſtode of Alexanders comming, he wente towardes him with his whole power. Whoſe Elephantes by ſmall diſtaunces mixed in battail emonges his footemen, ſhewed afarre of, like Caſtelles. At the firſte Alexander did not take him as a frende, but as an enemie, and therefore ſet his men in ordre of battail, and his horſemen in winges in redines for to fight. When Omphis vnderſtode the errour of the Macedons, he commaunded his menne to ſtaie, and putting his ſpores to his horſe, ridde forwardes alone. Alexander did the like putting no doubt whether he were a frende or an enemie, but thought himſelfe ſure, either through his owne manhode, or the

Omphis one of the kinges of India.

others fidelitie. Their meting as it appeared by their countenaunces was very frendlie, but for want of an interpretour, thei coulde not ſpeake togithers. Therefore after thei hadde called one vnto them, the Indian king declared vnto Alexander: that the cauſe he mette him with an armie, was to put immediatlie his whole power into his handes, and had not (he ſaied) taried to treate for any aſſurauce by meſſengers, but vpon truſt onely, had committed both his perſone & his kingdome to him. whom he knew to make warre for the winning of glorie and fame, and therefore coulde not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioiſed to ſee his ſimplicitie, and profered him his righthande as pledge of his promiſe, and reſtored to him againe his kingdome. He preſented vnto Alexander. lvi. Elephantes with many other beaſtes of exceading greatnes and .iii. thouſande bulles, whiche is a cattell of great value in thoſe countries, and muche eſtemed of kinges. Alexander enquired of him whither he hadde vnder his dominion more ſoldiours, or tillers of the grounde. He aunſwered that he was driuen of neceſſitie to haue more ſouldiours, becauſe he was at warre with twoo kinges, whoſe kingdomes laie beyonde ẏ riuer of Hydaſpis. There names were Abyaſſares, and Porus, but the auctoritie remained in Porus. And ſaied that he was prepared, and reſolued to aduenture the haſarde of the battaill with ſuche of them, as ſhoulde inuade him firſt. Hereupon Alexander graunted vnto Omphis, both to take vpon him the Diademe and the name of his father that was called Taxiles: the cuſtome of the countrie being ſuche, that the name euer folowed the kingdome whoſeuer enioied it. When he hadde receiued Alexander honourablie in hoſpitalitie thre daies, the fourth daie declaring

perfidie

claring how muche corne he had deliuered to Epheſtion and to his armeie, preſented to the King and to all his frendes crownes of golde, and beſides of coigned ſiluer lxxx. talentes. Alexander reioiſed ſo muche in his good will, that he bothe retourned againe to him his giftes, and gaue him beſides a thouſande Talentes of the ſpoile, he brought with him, with muche Plate of golde and Siluer, many garmentes after the Perſian maner, and.xxx. of his awne horſes with theſame furnimentes thei ware, when he did ride vpon them. Whiche liberalitie as it bounde Omphis, ſo it greatlie offended the mindes of the Macedones. For Meleager at Supper when he hadde well dronke: ſaied he was very glad that Alexander hadde yet founde one in India whom he iudged worthie to receiue the gifte of a thouſande talentes. The king bearing in minde, how muche he hadde repented the ſlaying of Clytus for the raſhenes of his toungue, refrained his anger, but yet tolde him: That enuious menne, were euer tormentours to them ſelues. The next daie the Embaſſadours of king Abyaſares came vnto Alexander, who according to their commiſſion offred al thinges vnto his wil. Wherevpon promiſe and aſſuraunce being confirmed, their retourned againe to their Maſter. Alexander therefore thinking that through the greatneſſe of his name, Porus might be brought to dooe the like, ſent Cleochares to him for to demaunde tribute, and to ſūmone him to come and make his homage, when he ſhoulde entre the boundes of his kingdome. Porus made aunſwere that of thoſe two requeſtes he woulde performe one, whiche was to mete him at the entrie of his kingdome, but that ſhoulde be in armes & with a power. Alexander therfore being determined to paſſe the riuer of Hidaſpes, Bar-

Envyous men, ever tormentore of them selves,

King Abyaſares.

King Porus

zentes

Barzentes.

zentes that had been aucthour of the rebelliō emonges the Arachoſians, was takē and brought to him bounde with .xxx. Elephantes: an apte aſſiſtaunce againſt the Indians, that were wont to put more truſt in thoſe beaſtes then in the force of their awne nacion. Gamarus king of a ſmal porcion of India, whiche had cōfederated with Barzentes, was brought likewiſe bounde vnto him. Wherefore committing them bothe to priſon & the Elephātes to Omphis, came vnto yͤ riuer of Hidaſpes. But Porus laie in campe on the ferther ſide to let his paſſage, hauing .iiii. ſcore .v. Elephātes of huge ſtrength of bodie. CCC. wagons of warre, and .xxx. M. fotemen, emonges whom there were many archers, whoſe ſhaftes (as hath been ſaied before) were more heuie thē thei coulde wel welde. Porus himſelfe did ride vpō an Elephant greater then all the reſt, who alſo being of a big ſtature, appeared notable in his armour that was garniſhed with golde & ſiluer, hauing alſo a courage equall to the ſtrength of his bodie and ſo great a wiſedome as was poſſible to be founde emonges ſuche rude nacions

Gamarus:

The riuer of Hydaſpis.

The Macedones were not ſo muche afraied with the ſight of their enemies, as thei were with the greatneſſe of the Riuer that thei hadde to paſſe, whiche being foure furlonges in breadeth, and ſo deepe that no forde coulde bee founde, appeared to them like a great Sea. And yet the largeneſſe thereof mitigated nothing the violence of the ſtreame, but ranne with no leſſe furie then if it had ben narrowe, appearing by the repercuſſiō of the water in many places, to bee full of great ſtones in the bottome. This riuer being ſufficient to feare them of it ſelfe, the ſighte of the ferther banke full of horſe and men, was an encreaſe of their terrour. Where the Elephantes that had bodies of vnreaſonable greateneſſe ſtode in their ſighte, being prouoked to braie of

Repercussion

purpoſe, to thintent that with their terrible noiſe; thei ſhould fil their enemies eares ful of feare. Though the Macedones were couragious and had their hartes ful of good hope, as thei whiche often times had had experience of their owne actes: Yet their enemies, and the riuer bothe together made them wonderfullie amaſed. foꝛ thei coulde not thinke how to kepe a ſtedfaſt courſe to the ferther ſhoꝛe in ſo weake and tottring boates, noꝛ when thei were there, coulde ſee how to arriue with ſuretie. There were many Iſlandes in the middes of the riuer, into the whiche both the Indians and the Macedones did ſwimme, holding their weapons aboue their headdes), there thei ſkirmiſhed together in the ſight of bothe Kinges, whiche by experimente of ſuche ſmall thinges, made triall of the ſucceſſe of the whole. But emonges al the Macedons there were two noble yong men called Symachus and Nicanoꝛ excelling in boldneſſe & in deſperat attẽptes, whiche thꝛough their continuall good foꝛtune had gotten a courage to deſpiſe al peril. Other young men of the moſte hardieſt toke them foꝛ their Captaines, and without any other armour (ſauing their pikes) ſwome ouer into an Ilande being full of their enemies, where thꝛough boldeneſſe onely thei ſlewe many of them, and ſo might haue returned with gloꝛie, if raſhneſſe, where it findeth pꝛoſperous ſucceſſe, coulde euer bee content with meaſure. But whiles with ſkoꝛne and pꝛide thei taried foꝛ their enemies, thei were ſodeinlie encloſed of ſuche as priuelie ſwome ouer the riuer, & were killed with dartes whiche thei caſt at them from afarre. Suche as in this caſe eſcaped their enemies, were either dꝛowned with the violẽce of the water, oꝛ the eddies of ẏ ſtreame: This ſight put Poꝛus in great courage, that ſawe all their

Symachus
Nycanoꝛ.

doinges

dooinges from the ferther ſhore. And though Alexander was long vncerteine what waie to take, yeat at length he deceiued his enemie by this policie. There was an Ilande in the riuer greater then the reſt, and apte to hide his deuiſe, by reaſon it was ful of woodde, and hadde a great rampiere caſt vpon that banke, that was towardes his enemies: There bothe his footmen, and horſemen might ſtande couered from the ſighte of Thindiens: and the rather to tourne their yies another waie from the ſpiyng out of that oportunitie, he cauſed Ptolomeus with a great nūbre of his horſmen to ſhew themſelues againſt their enemies farre of from the Ilande, and to put the Indiens in feare of their crie, making euer a ſhewe as though thei woulde ſwimme ouer the riuer. Whiche thing Ptolomeus didde many daies cōtinually together, to thentent that Porus ſhould be forced to remoue his powre to that part to withſtand him, and by that meanes brought them out of the ſight of the Ilande. Alexander alſo cauſed his owne pauilion to be ſet vpon the riuers ſide ouer againſte his enemies, & all the pompe that perteined to the ſtate of a king, to be ſet foorth within their viewe, with theſame bande ſtanding in ſight, whiche was wont to remaine about his perſone. Furthermore Attalus that was equall with Alexander in yeares, and like to him of face and perſonage, ſtode there openly appareiled like a king that it might appere to Porus, that Alexander was ſtil remaining there, and went not about to paſſe the Riuer. The execution of this deuiſe was firſte letted by a Tempeſt, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effecte: fortune euer vſed to tourne her diſcommodities, into good ſucceſſe towardes him. For when thenemies were thus attente to obſerue Ptolo-

The policie Alexander vſed in paſſing of Hydaſpis.

Rampier

meus that laie beneth vpon the riuer againſt theim.

And Alexander with the reſt of the armie buſie aboute the paſſing of his menne into the Jlande before mencioned: There fell ſodeinlie a great ſtorme ſcarcelie tollerable to ſoche as laie within their cabbaines, whiche ſo moche afflicted the Souldiours abrode, that thei forſoke their boates, and fled again to lande. And yeat for al this, their clamour, and their noiſe was not heard of their enemies through the vehemencie of the ſhoure. As this tempeſt began ſodeinlie, ſo it ſodeinly ceaſſed, but the Cloudes remained ſo darke, that there appered not ſo moche lighte, as the Souldiours might know one another by the face, whē thei ſpake together. Whiche darkeneſſe might haue feared ſome other man, conſidering thei hadde to rowe in a Riuer that thei knewe not, their enemies (paraduenture) waiting for theim at their landing, whether thei went as blind men that for glorie ſought for perill. But Alexander vſed that thing, that put other men in terror, to ſerue for his purpoſe, and willed that euery man (vpon o ſigne geuē) ſhould entre into their botes with ſilence: his bote was the firſt that launched from the ſhore, towardes the further ſide that was voide of his enemies, Porus onely keping his watche againſte Ptolomeus. There was but one boate that ſtacke faſt by the waie vpon a rocke, & al thother recouered the lande. Alexāder then cōmaūded the ſouldiours to prepare their armour, & fal into araie: And whileſt he was diuiding his men to put thē in order of battail marching towarde his enemies, it was reported to Porus, that a great nūbre of men of Warre were come ouer the Riuer, and landed, whiche woulde ſtreight waies geue him the battail. But he at the firſt (according to the fault that is mannes nature) through

Menny that
seke for glorye
happen to
mete wth perill.

The battail betwixt Porus, & Alexander.

Hages Porus brother

the ouermoche confidence that he had in him ſelfe) beleued not the matter, but thought that Abiazares whiche was confederate with hym, had come in his aſſiſtaunce Yeat when the daie appeared, and the matter was manifeſt, Porus then put forth. C. armed wagons and. iiii M. horſemen, vnder the leading of Hages his brother, to kepe Alexander doing. Thei counted thoſe wagones their principalle force, for euery one of theim caried ſixe men. ii. Archers, two with targettes, and. ii. that ruled the horſes, whiche wer not vnarmed, but when it came to the fight, thei let their reines loſe, and beſtowed their dartes emong their enemies. But thuſe of thoſe Wagons ſerued that daie to ſmall purpoſe, for the ſhowre that had fallen more violentlie then was accuſtomed, had made the fieldes ſo wet, and ſlabbie, that the Wagons could not ſtirre, but ſtacke in the mire, and became immoueable: Wheras Alexander being without baggage, or any thing that might bee an impediment vnto him, fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Sithians, and the Dahans were the firſt that gaue theonſet, and Pardicas was appoincted with the Horſemenne to charge vpon the right hande battaile of the Indians, then the battailes beginning to ioigne in al partes, thei that had the charge of the wagons counting thē the laſt refuge, ſlacked their raines, and ruſſhed forwardes into the middeſt of the fighte. The comming of theſe Wagons appeared to be a matter daungerous, and doubtfull to bothe parties. For at the firſt brunt bothe the Macedōs were borne ouer, and ouerthrowen by theim, and when the Wagons came in any rowghe, or mirie places, the Indians were throwen out of them. For when the horſes that drue theim were ones galled, and put in feare, thei caried the wagons without gouernment, and tum-

Aſſiſtance

ſlabbie

Jmmoueable.

Galled

bled parte in the mire and part in the riuer. A fewe trauerſed the feldes, and fled for ſuccour vnto Porus, who ſeing his wagons ſcatred ouer all the fieldes, and wāder about without their rulers, diſtributed the charge of his Elephantes emongeſt his frendes, and placed his footemenne, and Archers behinde theim. He had many that ſouned vppon Timbrelles, (being Inſtrumentes that the Indians vſe in ſtede of Trompettes, wherewith their eares were ſo filled, that the noiſe of their enemies litle moued them. Thei bare alſo the Image of Hercules in the front of their fote battail, whiche was doen for an encouragement for thē to fight wel, & for a note of reprofe, & offence to thē that ſhould flie frō that their ſtandarde. For it was loſſe of life to them that left it in the field. So that the feare whiche thei conceiued of Hercules that ſometime had been their enemie, was then turned into a veneration and a religion. The ſight bothe of the Elephantes, and Porus himſelfe, aſtonied the Macedons, and cauſed theim a while to ſtaie. For the beaſtes being ſet in ordre emongeſt the armed men ſhewed a farre of like high Towres, and Porus himſelf exceding in maner the ſtature of man: the Elephant wherevpon he did ride, was a ſetting forth vnto his bigneſſe, whiche excelled ſo moche al the other Elephantes, as he himſelf excelled the reſt of men. So that Alexander beholding bothe Porus, and his power, ſaied, that at length he had found a peril equal vnto his hart. For we haue to dooe (quod he) bothe with terrible beaſtes, and with notable menne of warre. And thereupon loked towardes Cenon, and ſaied vnto him: When I with Ptolomeus, Perdicas, and Epheſtion, ſhal ſet vpon the left battaile of our enemies, and ſhalt ſee vs in the heate of the fighte, dooe you then ſet forwardes my

Trauersed

Encouragement

right battaile, and freſhelie aſſaile theim, when you ſee them beginne to fal out of ordre. Antigonus, Leonatus and Tauron, doos you bende againſt their maine battaile, and ſet vpon their fronte. Our pikes be long, and ſtrong, & cānot ſerue to any better vſe, then againſt the Elephantes, wherwith thei maie be thruſt through, and ſoche ouerthrowen, as be caried vpō their backes. The Elephantes bee but an vncerteine force; whiche vſe to dooe moſt harme to their owne parte, for as thei vſe to go againſt their enemies ſo long as thei bee at commaundement: ſo when thei bee once putte in feare, thei tourne againſt their owne ſide, and ſhewe moſte rage towardes them. He hadde not ſo ſone ſpoken thoſe wordes but he put ſpurres to his horſe, paſſing againſt his enemies, and when accordyng to his appointment he hadde geuen the charge, Cenus with a greate force brake vpon the left battaile. And the Phalanx at the ſame inſtant brake in emongſt the middeſt of their enemies. When Porus ſawe the horſmen geue the charge he put forwardes his Elephantes to encountre them.

But thei being ſlowe beaſtes, and not apte ſodainly to moue, were preuented by the ſwifteneſſe of the horſes, and their bowes ſtode not them in any great ſtede, for by reaſon their arrowes were ſo long, and heauie, that thei could not nocke them within their bowes, except thei ſtaied firſt their bowes vpon the ground, and the grounde being ſo ſlipperie that thei coulde haue no perfite footing: whileſt thei were preparing thēſelues to ſhoote, their enemies were come emonges them. Then euery man fled from thordre that Porus had geuen as it chaunceth oftētimes emōgſt troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule, then the Capiteines appoinctment. For in ſo many partes as their Armie was diui-

The confuſion that fel emong Porus menne.

ded,ſo many generalles became emongſt theim. Some would ioigne all their battailes in one, other would haue them diuided. Some willed to ſtaie,& other to go forwardes, and encloſe their enemies about: There was no general conſultatiõ emongſt them. Porus notſtanding accompanied with a fewe (with whom ſhame preuailed more then feare) aſſembled ſoche together as were diſperkled abroade,and went forwardes againſt his enemies,ſetting his Elephantes in the front of the battaile.

Thei putte the Macedones in feare, troubling with their vnwonted crie,not onely the horſe, that naturalie do feare them,but alſo amaſed the men,and diſturbed their order. Inſomoche that thei whiche a litle before thought themſelues victours,loked about to hiche waie to flie, and ſaue theimſelues. Whiche thing when Alexander perceiued, he ſent againſt the Elephantes, the Agrianes,and Thracians that were men lighte armed, and apter to ſkirmiſhe a farre of, then to fighte hande to hande: Thei gaue the Elephantes, and their Gouernours moche a dooe, and ſore afflicted them with the multitude of their dartes,and Arrowes that thei beſtowed emongſt theim. And the Phalanx came conſtantlie forwardes againſt theim that were in feare. But ſoche as preſſed ouer forwarde in fighting with the Elephantes,procured their manifeſt deſtruction,who being trampled to deathe with their fete were an example to other, not to bee ouer haſtie in aduenturing theimſelues. The moſte terrible ſight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunkes called Proboſcides, tooke Menne in their Armour from the ground,and deliuered thẽ vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfullie, till the daie was farre ſpente, the Souldiours ſometime fliyng from the Elephantes, and ſometime purſuing after theim, vntil that with a certeine kinde of crooked weapons called copidæ, (prepared for the purpoſe) thei cut the Elephantes vpon the legges. Thoſe the Macedons had righte aptly deuiſed, for not onely the feare of deathe, but alſo the feare of a newe kinde of tourment in death, cauſed them to leue nothing vnproued. Finally Thelephantes weried with woundes, with their violente ſtrugling didde caſt their gouernours to the earth, and tare theim in pieces, for thei ware put in ſoche feare, that thei ware no more hurtful to their enemies, but driuen oute of the battaile like ſhepe.

Porus being forſaken of the more parte of his menne, ceaſſed not to caſt dartes wherof he had plentie prepared vpon his Elephant, emongeſt theim that flocked about him, whereby he wounding many, by reaſon he laie open to euery mannes blowe, was laied at on all partes, till he hadde receiued nine woundes behind, and before, through the whiche he bledde ſomoche that he had no power to caſt any more, but for febleneſſe thei fell out of his handes.

The Elephante alſo whiche he didde ride vpon, pricked forwardes with furie, made a greate diſturbaunce amongeſt the Macedones, vntill that his gouernoure ſeing the Kinge ſo fainte, that he lette falle his Dartes, and to be almoſte paſt his remembraunce, ſtirred the beaſte to flie awaie, whom Alexander folowed in all that he might, but his horſe that was thruſt in with many woundes, fell downe deadde vnder him: Wherefore whiles he was about to chaunge, and take an other, was caſte farre behinde. In the meane ſeaſon Taxiles brother, that was ſente by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhorte him that he ſhoulde not bee ſo obſtinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yelde himſelfe vnto the victour. But he notwithſtanding that his ſtrength was nere paſt, and his bloude failed, yet ſturred vp at a knowen voice, ſaied, that he knewe him to be the brother of Taxiles, a traitour to his king and his countreie, and with that worde tooke a darte whiche by chaunce was not fallen awaie, and threw it ſo at Taxiles brother, that it paſſed through the middeſt of his breſte vnto his backe. And hauing ſhewed this laſte proofe of his manhode, fledde againe more faſter then before. But when the Elephant, through many woundes that he hadde receiued, fainted in like forte, then he ſtaied, and turned his footemenne towardes his enemies that purſued.

Porus was a valiaunt man of hie courage & fayled not untill death

By that time Alexander was come nere him, who vnderſtanding the wilfulneſſe of Porus, willed none to bee ſpared that made reſiſtence. Wherupon euery man threwe dartes againſt Porus, and ſoche footemenne as ſtode in his defēce, wherwith at length he was oppreſſed that he began to fall from his Elephante. Then the Indian whiche was his gouernour, thinking that Porus deſired to haue lighted, cauſed the beaſte after his accuſtomed maner to bende towarde the earth, whiche ſubmitting himſelfe, all the reſt as thei were taughte, bowed doune their bodies likewiſe, whiche was the cauſe of Porus taking, and of the reſte. When Alexander ſawe Porus bodie vpon the ground, cauſed him to be ſpoiled, thinking he had been dead, and diuers came about him to pul of his harneis, and his veſture, whiche thing when the Elephant ſawe: He began to defend his maſter, running vpon his ſpoilers, and went about

ſtraunt an' dible

to lifte him againe vpon his backe, whereupon thei all ſetting vpon the Elephant ſlue him, and laied Porus in a carte. Whom when Alexander did beholde, lifting vp his yies, & moued with no hatred, but with cōpaſſion ſaid vnto him, what miſchief, and madneſſe was in thy minde, hering of the fame of mine actes, to haſarde the battaille with mee, and my power, ſeing Taxiles was ſo nere an example of the clementie that I vſe to ſoche as ſubmitte themſelues? To whom he made anſwere. Forſomoche (quod he) as I am demaunded a queſtion: I will aunſwere as freely as I am ſpoken vnto, knowing mine owne ſtrengthe, and not hauing yeat proued thine, I thought no man of greater power then myſelf but now the ſucceſſe of this battaile hath declared thee to be mightier. And yet therin I doe impute to myſelfe not a litle felicitie, that I haue wonne the ſecond place and am next vnto the.

Alexanders woords to Porus.

Porus anſwer

He was aſked moreouer his opinion, after what maner he thought good the victorie ſhould be vſed. Vſe it (quod he) after ſoche ſorte, as this daies fortune ſhall put in thy minde, wherin there hath ben ſufficient profe ſhewed, how tranſitorie the felicitie of man is. This admoniſhment auailed him more, thē if he had ſubmitted himſelfe, or made any ſute. For when Alexander ſawe the greatnes of his courage, and his hart ſo voide of feare, that it coulde not be broken with any aduerſitie, was moued not onely to geue him his life, but alſo honorably to entertein him. For ſo lōg as he laie diſeaſed of his woūdes, he toke no leſſe care of his curing, thē if he had fought in his quarell. And when he was once healed (contrary to that whiche al men loked for) he receiued him emong the nūbre of his frendes, & enlarged his kingdome greater then before. Ther was nothing

Mãns felicitie is transitorie, in this lyfe.

in

Alexander had
vertue in a
admiration,
when it was
in his enemyes.
but when it
happened in
his owne men
he thought it
a derogation
of his glorie.

in Alexanders nature more perfeite, or more conſtant, then that he woulde euer haue vertue in admiratione, when it was ſoche that it deſerued true praiſe, and glorie, and ſpecially when he ſawe theſame in his enemie. For when it chaunced in any of his owne men, it was ſome what terrible vnto him, thinking that their fame might bee a deſtruction to his owne greatneſſe, whiche he euer thoughte to grow more greater, as thei were of greatnes that he ſubdued.

The ninth booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of the great Alexander king of Macedone.

Alexander reioiſing in ſo notable a victorie, whereby he ſawe the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offred vp ſacrifice vnto the Sunne, & to cauſe his ſouldiours to be more willing to goe forwarde in finiſhing the reſt of the warres, aſſembled thẽ together, & after he had commended their doinges: declared how in that latter battaile, thei had defeated, & broken the force of al Thindiens power and ſhould finde frõthenſfoorth nothing but a plentiful praie. For he ſaid that in the country wherunto he was going, the richeſſe chieflie remained, that was ſomoche ſpokẽ of throughout the whole world, in reſpect wherof, the ſpoiles of the Percians were but vile, & bagage, and that occaſion was now geuen them, not only to fil their owne houſes, but alſo all Macedonia, and Grece with pearles, with precious ſtones, with golde, & with Iuorie. The ſouldiers being deſirous bothe of richeſſe, and of glorie, becauſe thei had neuer founde his wordes vaine, promiſed him to dooe whatſoeuer he would haue them, wherupon he diſmiſſed thẽ ful of good hope and ſet them about the making of ſhippes, to thintent that hauing ouerrunne al Aſia, he might viſite the Ocean Sea, that was in the ende of all the Worlde.

defeated.

fromthensforth

The Mounteines nexte at hande were plentitifull of Timber to make Shippes withall, in cutting downe whereof the Macedones founde Serpentes of ſoche bigneſſe, as thei had not ſeen before, and alſo Rhinocerites, beaſtes that be ſeldome founde in any other place, whiche name was geuen to them by the Grekes: for in the Indian language thei are otherwiſe called. Alexander builded a citie vpon either ſide of the Riuer of Hidapſis, whiche ones perfourmed, he gaue to euery one of his capiteines a croune of Golde, and a thouſande pieces of Golde beſides, preferring, and rewarding euery other, according to their qualitie, degree, and deſeruing.

Abiazares which had ſent ambaſſadours vnto Alexander before the batail fought with Porus, ſent thē embaſſadors to him again, offring to do al thinges that he would appoint, ſo that he might kepe his bodie at libertie, for he deſired not to liue, except he might remaine a king, and he thought himſelf vnmete to reigne after he had been ones a captiue. He ſignified again to Abiazares, that if his coming ſhould be greuous, he would not ſticke to viſite him in perſone. Hauing thus vanquiſhed Porus, and paſſed the riuer of Hidaſpis, he went forward into the inward partes of India, whiche was a countreie ful of great woodes, and high trees, the aire very holſome, & temperat, the ſhadow of the trees mitigating the heate of the ſunne, & the plentie of ſpringes, keping the grounde moiſt. There were alſo many ſerpentes ſeen, whoſe ſcales gliſtered like golde. There was nothing more daungerous then the poiſon proceding from them, for immediatly vpō the ſtinging, death folowed til ſoche time as thinhabitours of the country ſhewed a remedie. ¶ From thence through deſertes thei came vnto the greate Riuer of Hiraotis, where-vnto there ioigned a great wood, whiche hauing ſoche trees as are not wont to bee ſeen in other places, was alſo full of wilde pecockes. Alexander remouing his campe from thence, wan a toune by aſſault, and taking pledges, appointed theim to paie tribute: After that he came to a great citie (after the maner of that countrie) whiche was bothe well walled, & alſo enuironed about with a marriſſe. Thinhabitauntes came foorth againſt Alexander, and ioigning their cartes together in a frõt (wherin their cuſtome was to fight) thei proffered him the battaile. Some occupied dartes, ſome ſpeares, and other axes, and with great agilitie leaped to, and fro to their cartes, when either thei woulde relieue their felowes that were werie of fighting, or els ſuccour, or reſcue ſoche as were in diſtreſſe. This vnwonted kinde of fighting put the Macedons at the firſt in feare, ſpecially being hurt a farre of by their enemies, and not able to come to hande ſtripes with theim. But after thei hadde conſidred their diſordred maner, thei eſtemed not their force, but encloſed their enemies about, and thruſt them in with pikes, and the ſoner to defeate them, thei cut the bandes wherwith the cartes were tied, to ſeperat them a ſonder. When thei had after that maner loſt viii. C. of their men, thei fled again into the citie, whiche the next daie the Macedons did winne by aſſault. Certeine there were that ſaued thẽſelues by flying, whiche ſeing the Citie loſte, ſwomme ouer the water, and filled all the townes thereabout with feare. Thei declared of what inuincible force their enemies were of, iudging theim in reſpecte of their power rather Goddes then menne. When Alexander hadde gotten that citie, he ſent Perdicas with a parte of his Armie to deſtroie the Countreie, and committing another part to Eumenes

Wilde pea=
cockes in
Indie, & proude
ones in England
but these are
not naturall.

Marriſse

Agillitie

vnwonted

[illegible]

nes for the ſubduing of ſoche as woulde not become obedient, he with the reſt of his power came vnto a ſtrõg Citie, whiche was the refuge of all the Countrie ther about. Notwithſtanding that the inhabitauntes ſent to Alexander for peace, yet thei prepared neuertheleſſe for the Warre, by reaſon of a ſedicion whiche roſe amongſt them, that made thē to be of diuerſe opinions. Some would rather haue endured any extremitie then to yelde, and other thought thei were not hable to make reſiſtaunce, and whileſt their diffred ſo in opinones, & made no common conſultacion emongeſt themſelues. Soche as helde opinion to yelde vp the Citie, opened the Gates, and receiued in their enemies. And notwithſtanding that Alexander hadde iuſt cauſe of diſpleaſure againſt the contrarie faction, yeat he pardoned them al and receiuing their pledges remoued towarde the next Citie. Whē thindians that ſtoode vpon the walles ſaw the pledges that were brought before the Armie, whom thei perceiued to be of theſame nation, deſired communicatione with theim, who declaring bothe the Kinges clemencie, and his force, didne moue theim to rendre vp their Citie, whoſe enſample the reſte of the cities didde folowe

faction

Sophites.

Fromthens he came into the citie of Sophites, whiche is a nation (as the Indiens thinke) moſt excelling in Wiſedome, beſt gouerned, and that haue the beſt Cuſtomes emongeſt theim. The Children that bee there gotten, are not nouriſhed, and brought vp according to the wille of their Parentes, but by the ordre of ſoche as haue the charge committed vnto theim to vieu the ſtate of thinfantes. If thei perceiue any not apte to become actiue, or els wanting any of their limmes, thei cauſe theim ſtreight waies to bee killed. Thei vſe

A ſauage order.

to marie without any reſpecte of the kindred thei come of, or the greatnes of parentage, making no choiſe, but in the ſhape of the bodie, which is the thing that is only eſtemed emongſt theim. The King himſelf was within the chiefe Citie of the Countrie, againſt the whiche Alexander brought his power. The gates were ſhut, and no man appeared in Armes vpon the walles, to make any defence, wherefore he ſtode in doubt a great while, whether the citie was abandoned, or els that the inhabiters hadde kepte themſelues ſecrete for ſome policie. Whiles he remained in that expectatione, ſodeinlie the gate was opened, and the King (whiche in goodlineſſe of perſonage excelled all the reſt) came forth with his two ſonnes. He ware a garment of Golde, and Purple empaled, that couered the calfe of his legge, and the ſoles he ware on his feete were ſet with precious ſtones. All his armes were garniſhed with pearles, and hadde hanging at his eares two precious ſtones, whiche were excellent bothe for bigneſſe, and brightneſſe, and there he had a ſcepter of golde ſet with precious ſtones called Berillis, whiche he after his ſalutacion made with hūble ſubmiſſion, deliuered vnto Alexander: yelding bothe himſelf, his children, and his Kingdome into his handes

Nota.

There were in that countrie very notable Dogges for the hunting of wilde beaſtes, whiche ſpecially were geuen to be egre vpon the Lion. The King therefore to ſhewe their force, and proprietie vnto Alexander, put fower of theim vnto a greate Lion, whiche ſtreighte waies caughte him faſte. Then one whiche was accuſtomed to that Office, tooke one of thoſe Dogges by the legge to plucke him from the Lion, and becauſe he woulde not looſe his holde, cutte of his legge with a Swearde. But when the Dogge ſtacke neuertheleſſe unto his game, he was cut a ſundre in piece meale, til ſoche time as he died, hauing his tiethe ſtill faſtened in the Lions fleſhe. Soche a feruentneſſe of nature had wrought in thoſe beaſtes, as wee underſtode by the reporte. Sometime I am enforced to write thinges that I can ſcarcely beleue. For I neither dare affirme the thinges wherof I doubte, nor conceale ſoche thinges as I haue receiued for trueth. Alexander leauing this king within his owne kingdome came unto the riuer of Hiſpaſis, and there ioigned with Epheſtion, whiche hadde ſubdued the countrie thereabout.

Curtius report
is not bound
so this seemes
incredible.

Hyſpaſis.

One Phegelas was king of the next nation, whiche cōmaunding his ſubiectes to continue in tilling of the ground as thei were wont to doe, met Alexander with riche preſentes, refuſing nothing that was commaunded him. When he hadde taried with him two daies, and was determined the thirde daie to haue paſſed the riuer, he founde therin great difficultie by reaſon that the ſtreame was ſo large, and full of greate ſtones. He ſtaied therfore a while, to bee more fullie aduertiſed of theſtate of thoſe countries, and of all ſoche thinges as were neceſſarie for him to knowe. He underſtode by Phegelas how beyond that riuer there laie a deſert of ten daies iourneie, and nexte to that deſert the riuer of Ganges, which was the greateſt riuer in al the Orient. He ſhewed that beyond Ganges there inhabited twoo nacions called Gangaridans, and Pharraſians, whoſe King was called Agramenes, whiche uſed to come to the fielde with .xx. M. horſſemenne, C C. thouſande footemen, two thouſande armed wagons, and thre. M Elephantes, whiche were counted the greateſt terrour. Thoſe thinges ſemed incredible unto Alexander, and therefore enquired of Porus, if the thinges were true

king Phegelas

Gangaridans.
Pharraſians
Agramenes.

that hadde been tolde him. He confirmed Phegelas reporte concerning the force of the nacion. But he ſaied their king was come of no noble bloude, but of the baſeſt ſorte of menne, whoſe father being a Barbour, and with great peine getting his dailie liuing, came in fauour with the Quene, who brought him to haue al the doinges about the king her huſbande, whiche was afterwardes ſlaine by their treaſon. Then he vnder colour to bee come tutour vnto the children, vſurped the kingdome to himſelfe, and putting the childrē to death did beget him that was then king, being in hatred and diſgrace of the people, as one that folowed more the maners of his fathers former eſtate, then ſuche as did beſeeme the dignitie of a Prince. When Alexander harde Porus affirme this matter, he became in greate trouble of minde, not that he regarded the multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephantes. But he feared the greatneſſe of the riuers and the ſituacion of the countrie ſo difficulte to entre vpon. He thought it a harde enterpriſe to ſeke out nacions ſo farre inhabiting in the vttermoſte boundes of the worlde. Yet on the other ſide the griedineſſe of glorie, & the vnſaciable Vorac. desire of fame, made no place to ſeeme to farre, nor no aduenture to bee ouerharde. He doubted alſo that the Macedones whiche hadde paſſed ſo many countries, and were waxen aged with warres, woulde not be content to folowe him ouer ſo many riuers, and againſt ſo many difficulties of nature lying in their waie. For he iudged, that ſince thei abounded, and were ſo laden with ſpoile, thei woulde rather ſeke to enioie ſuch thinges as thei hadde gotten, then to trauaill any ferther in getting of more. He coulde not thinke the ſame appetite to bee in his ſouldiours, that was in himſelfe.

For he cōpaſſed in his minde how to get the Empire
of the whole worlde, into whiche matier he hadde but
made his entre: where as thei weried with trauail, and
thinking to haue paſte all perill, loked to enioie with
ſpede, the fructe of al their labour: yet for al that, his affection
ouercame reaſon. For he aſſembled his armeie
together and ſpake vnto theim after this maner. I am
not ignoraunt (my ſouldiours) how that there be now
many rumours ſowed emonges you by the Indians,
purpoſelie to put you in feare. But the vanitie of their
liyng is not ſo new a thing, ꝧ it is able now to deceiue
you. The Perſians after that maner would haue made
“ both the ſtreightes of Cilicia, & the plaines of Metopotamie
terrible vnto you, yea & put you in feare of the riuers
“ of Tigre and Euphrates, and yet we wadid ouer
thone of thē, and paſſed the other by a bridge. The fame
“ neuer reporteth thinges truely, but maketh all thinges
greater thē thei be in dede. But our glorie, though it be
“ growen to a certaine perfection, yet it is more in fame,
then in effect. Whiche of you of late did thinke, that you
“ ſhould haue ben able to endure the Elephātes, ſhewing
afarre of like caſtelles? Who thought I could haue paſſed
“ the riuer of Hydaſpis, when it was reported to bee
muche greter then it was? We ſhoulde longe agoe (my
“ ſouldiours) haue fled out of Aſia, if tales coulde haue
cauſed vs to tourne our backes. Thinke you that the
“ nūbre of the Elephantes be greater, then you haue ſeen
herdes of beſtes in other places? ſeing thei be ſo rare in
“ the worlde and ſo ſtraunge to be takē? there muſt nedes
be muche more difficultie in the making of theim tame.
“ The ſame vanitie that hath reported thē to you to be of
ſuche numbre, hath nūbred alſo their horſemen & their
“ fotemen. Concerning the riuers, the more broader thei

bee

Alexanders oratiō to his souldeours.

[illegible] rea-
ſon ſhould
ouercome aff-
ection, many
ſuffer affec-
tion to ouer-
[illegible] .

fame neuer
reporteth
thinges truly.
but maketh
all thinges
greater then
thei be.

be, the more gently thei muſt runne. For ſuch as be narrowe & of ſmal breadth, runne alwaies with the moſte vehement ſtreame, where as contrariewiſe the broade riuers paſſe their courſes more mildelie. But you will peraduenture ſaie that al the peril is at the ſhore, where your enemies ſhal waite for your arriuall. Whatſoeuer the riuer be, yͤ haſard is al one at the landing. But imagine that al thoſe thinges were true. Whether is it the greatneſſe of the beaſtes, or the multitude of the mē that put you in feare? As concerning the elephantes we haue had experiēce of them of late, how muche more rigorouſlie thei rage againſt their owne partie, thē againſt vs. what ſhould we eſteme thē, but only abate yͤ greatneſſe of their bodies, with ſuche weapons as we haue prepared for the purpoſe. What matier is it whether thei bee of the like nūbre that Porus had, or whether thei be .iii. M. ſeing we perceiue, that when twoo or three bee once woūded, the reſt bende thē ſelues to flie awaie. And for aſmuche as thei cannot wel be gouerned when thei bee but fewe, when there be ſo many thouſandes together, thei muſt then nedes be an impediment one to another, and breade a confuſion emonges them ſelues: thei be ſo vnweldie by reaſon of their huge bodies, that thei bee neither apt to paſſe forwards, nor yet to flie. I haue alwaies ſo litle eſtemed thē, that when I haue had plentie of that kinde, I would neuer vſe thē: knowing very wel that thei be more daūgerous to ſuche as occupie them, then thei be to their enemies. But peraduentur it is the multitude of their horſemen & footemen that doe moue you? were you neuer wont to fight againſt ſuch nūbres? or is it the firſte time that you haue encountred with diſordred multitudes? The riuer of Granicke is a witneſſe howe inuincible the power of the Macedones

vnweldie

is againſt any multitude. And ſo is Cilicia that flowed with the Perſians bloude, and Arbella whoſe plaines bee ſtrewed with their boanes. It is ouer late to counte the numbre of your enemies, after that with your victorie ye haue made Aſia deſert. When ye paſſed ouer Helleſpont, you ſhoulde then haue conſidred your ſmall numbre. Now the Scythians dooe folowe vs, we haue aide at hande from the Bactrians, and we ſupplie our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is not in theim, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force. I reſerue your manhode about me, as a pledge & aſſuraunce of my actes and doinges. So longe as I maie ſtande in the fielde emonges you, I will neither waie my ſelfe, nor mine enemies. Dooe you but ſhewe an apparaunce, that there is hope in you and cherefulneſſe. We are not now newelie entred into our trauailles, but haue paſſed all our laboures, being come to the riſing of the ſonne, and to the Ocean Sea, excepte our awne ſlougth bee our impedimente. From thens hauing ſubdued the worlde, we ſhal retourne as victours into our countrie. Dooe not you as theſe negligente huſbandmen, that loſe their fruicte after it is once ripe. The rewardes of our iourneie be greater thē our perill. The countrie that we goe vnto, is riche and of no force, thither I purpoſe to bring you both to winne glorie, & to get you ſpoile. For worthie you are to carie ſuche riches into your countrie, whiche be ſo plentifull there, that the ſea doeth caſt them vp againſt the ſhore. You bee men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothing vnproued, nor nothing vndoen for feare, I deſire and praie you by the glorie ye haue gotten, in whiche ye excede the ſtate of men, and by all that I haue deſerued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remaine as inuin-

cible

A battle & exhortation to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

tible: that ye wil not forſake me, purpoſing to viſite the ende of the worlde: Me I ſaie that haue been brought vp as a childe emongſt you. I will make no mencion how I am your King: In the reſt of thinges I haue cõmaunded you, lette mee now entreate you, in this one point. It is I that make this requeſt vnto you, whiche neuer commaunded you any thing, but I put my ſelfe formoſt in thaduenture, and daungier, and the whiche oftentimes in mine owne perſon haue been the formoſt in defence of the battail, take not the victorie out of my handes, with the whiche (if enuie be not the lette) I ſhal become equal in glorie bothe to Hercules, and Bacchus Geue your aſſent to mine interceſſione, and at length breake your obſtinate ſcilence. Where is your ſhowting become that was wont to be a declaration of your cherefulneſſe? Where be the countenaunces of my countreie men? I know you not my ſouldiers, and it ſemeth that I am not knowen of you. Mee thinkes I crie to your deafe eares in vaine, and go about in waſt to ſtirre vp your vnwilling, and vnmoueable mindes.

Intercession

Notwithſtanding al theſe woordes, thei hong doune their heddes towardes the earth, and perſeuered ſtil in ſcilence. Then he proceded: I know not (quod he) wher in I haue vnwitting offended you, that you will not ones voucheſaufe to loke mee in the face. I ſeme to bee ſolitarie, and in a deſerte. Is there none of you that I ſpeake vnto, will aunſwere mee? Is there none at the leaſt waies will denigh my requeſte? What is the thing that I require? euen your owne glorie, and your owne encreaſe. Where be thei now whom I ſawe, not long ago cõtending who ſhould firſt take vp their King when he was wounded And now yee leaue mee alone: yee forſake me, yee betraie me to mine enemies. But I will not leaue mine entreprice though I go alone. Put me forwardes to thoſe Riuers, to thoſe beaſtes, and to thoſe naciones, the very names of whom yee feare ſo moche. The Scithians, and Bactrians ſhall goe with me, whiche of late were mine enemies, and now be my Souldiours. I had rather die then be a king, to bee ruled, and at other mennes appoinctment. Departe you home, goe I ſaie, and triumphe of the abandoning of your king. For I will rather obteine here the victorie, wherof you haue deſpaired, or els die a deathe that ſhal be honourable. Notwithſtanding al that he had ſaied, there was not one ſouldier that would open his mouth to ſpeake, but ſtoode waiting that ſome of the Princes, and greate Capiteines ſhoulde declare vnto the Kinge their ſtates, and how that there remained not in theim any obſtinate refuſall of the Warres, but that thei were ſo exhauſted with woundes, and weried with continuall trauayle, that they were not able to endure any lenger. As thei ſtode thus aſtonied, and afraied, in ſcilence, and looking vpon the grounde, there began firſte a whiſpering, and a rumour emongeſt theim, and afterwardes a lamentation, and by litle and litle thei beganne more manifeſtly to ſhewe their doloure, the teares falling from their yies. The Kinges anger was then ſo tourned into compaſſion, that he was not hable neither to keepe himſelfe from teares, but the whole aſſemblie braſt out into an exceſſiue weping.

exhauſted

whiſperinge

And when the reſte were at a ſtaie to ſpeake, Cenus tooke vpon him to preaſſe forwardes, towardes the Iudgement ſeate where Alexander ſtoode, ſignifiyng that hee had ſomewhat to ſaie. When the Souldiours ſawe him pull his healmet from his head (for ſo it was the Cuſtome to ſpeake vnto the King) thei begane to require him that he woulde vtter the cauſe of the whole armie. Then Cenus beganne on this wiſe.

Cenus wordes in the name of the whole armie.

The Goddes defende our mindes from all wicked thoughtes, as I doubt not but thei will, there are none of your ſouldiours, but be of theſame minde towardes you, that thei haue been in times paſte: Whether it bee your pleaſure to commaunde theim to goe forwardes to fight, & to haſarde theimſelues, or with their bloude, commende their name vnto the poſteritie. And if you will nedes perſeuer in your opinion, though we bee vnarmed, naked, and withoute bloude, wee will either come after you, or go before, as you ſhall thinke expediente. But if you will bee contente to heare youre ſouldiours griefes, and complaintes that be not feigned, but expreſſed by force of very neceſſitie, I humblie beſeche you then that yee woulde vouchesafe fauourablie to heare theim, that conſtantlie haue folowed your aucthoritie, and fortune, and are yeat readie to folowe whereſoeuer you will appoincte. O Alexander, with the greatneſſe of your Actes, ye haue not ouercome onely your enemies, but alſo vs your owne Souldiours Whatſoeuer mannes mortalitie is hable to fulfille, that is perfourmed by vs, hauing paſſed ouer ſo many Seas, and Countries better knowen to vs, then to the very inhabitours, now remaining in maner in the vttermoſte ende of the worlde. And yeat for all this your purpoſe is to paſſe into an other Worlde, and ſeke out an Inde vnknowen to the Indians. Yee couet to plucke out the wilde beaſtes, and ſerpentes out of their dennes, and lurking places, minding to ſearche further with your Victorie, then the Sunne hath viſited with his beames, whiche truely is an imagination mete for your harte, but farre exceding our capacitie, and power Your mannehode, and courage is alwaies in encreaſe, but our force groweth in declination. Beholde our bodies deſtitute of bloud, perced with ſo many woundes, and rotted with ſo many ſcarres. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armour is waſted, and conſumed, we weare our apparel after the Perſianes maner, becauſe our countreie garmentes dooe faile vs: We are degenerate out of our owne faſhione, and growen into a ſtraunge habite. What is he that hath his corſelet, or horſe particular to himſelf? Cauſe it to be enquired how many remaine emongſt vs, and what remaineth to euery manne of the ſpoile. Being the victours of al menne, of al menne we are the pooreſt. It is not abundaunce, or exceſſe that trouble vs, but the very Warre it ſelfe: Our municion is conſumed, & yet ye minde to put forth this goodlie armie of yours naked vnto thoſe beaſtes. The multitude of whom though Thindiens purpoſely doe encreaſe, yet of their vaine reporte we maie perceiue the numbre to be great. But if ye bee vtterlie determined to paſſe yet further into Inde, the countreie that lieth Southwarde is not ſo deſert as the other, whiche being ſubdued, ye maie paſſe to that ſea whiche nature hath appoincted to bounde in the worlde. Why doe you ſeke that glorie a farre of, whiche remaineth to you redy at your hande? Here the Ocean ſea doeth mete vs and except your mind be to wander, we are come to the place predeſtinate vnto vs.

I hadde rather ſpeake theſe thinges before you, then behinde your backe, for I ſeeke not to winne fauour amongſt the menne of Warre that ſtande here aboute mee, but deſire you ſhoulde rather heare their mindes expreſſed in plaine woordes, then to heare their griefe and their grudge vttred in muttering,and in murmur. When Cenus had made an ende of his tale,there riſſe a crie,and a lamentacion, which with confuſed voices euery where called Alexander their king, their father, & their lord. Then the other capiteines,(and ſpecially the elders,whiche by reaſon of their Age,had the more honeſt excuſe.and greater auctoritie)made the like requeſt So that the king was not hable to chaſtiſe them being in that obſtinacie , nor mitigate theim being ſo moued Therfore vncerteine what to doe,he lept from the iudgemēt place,and commaunding his lodging to be ſhut in, admitted no man,but ſoche as were accuſtomed about his perſon. Two daies he conſumed in his angre, and the third he came foorth emongſt his men, cauſing xii.aultares of ſquare ſtone there to be ſet vp, as a monument of his iourneie, and willed the trenches of his campe to be made wider,and the places wher the ſouldiours laie to bee enlarged greater then ſerued for the bigneſſe of their bodies,thinking by the forme, & ſhape of thinges thus encreaſed, to leaue a deceiptfull woondre vnto his poſteritie.From thens he retourned again by the waie he had paſſed before,and encamped vpō the riuer of Aceſines . Cenus chaunced there to die,whoſe death the king lamented,but yet he ſaid,that for ſo few daies he had made an ouerlong Oration,as though he alone ſholde haue returned into Macedō.By that time the nauie of Shippes, whiche he had appoincted to be made,ſtode in redines a flote,and Memnō in the meane ſeaſon brought him oute of Thrace a ſupplie of.vi.M. horſemen,and beſides from Harpalus.vii.M.fotemen with xxv.M.armours that were wrought with ſiluer and golde, whiche he diſtributed emongſt his men, and commaunded the olde to be burned,purpoſing to paſſe

Mutteringe & murmure.

A mynde to begyle the poſteritie.

Memnon.

Nicea.
Bucephalon

The Sobions.

vnto the Ocean Sea with.M.ſhippes. But before his departure he reconciled together by affinitie Porus, and Taxiles, betwixte whom there was a newe diſcorde riſen vpon their olde hatredes. He hadde obteined of theim great aide bothe in the making, and furniſhing of his nauie. During the time he was about that buſines, he builded there.ii.cities, wherof he called thone Nicea, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horſe that was ded. He gaue ordre that his Elephantes, and carriage ſhould paſſe by lande, and he ſailed doune the riuer, proceding euery daie about.xl furlõges, ſo that he might euer lande his power in ſoche places as he thought conuenient. At length he came into a countrie whereas the Riuer of Hidaſpis, and Aceſines doe ioigne together, and doe runne from thence into the boundes of a nacion called Sobions. Thei declared that their predeceſſours came of Hercules armie, whiche being left there ſicke, did inhabite the countrie. Thei were clothed in beaſtes ſkinnes, vſing clubbes for their weapons, and though thei had lefte the cuſtomes of the Grekes, yet ther appered many thinges emong theim, that declared from whens thei wer deſcended. Here the king landed, and marched.CCX.furlonges within the countreie, whiche he waſted, and toke the chiefeſt Citie in theſame. There were.xl.M.menne that ſtoode in defence againſt him vpon a riuers ſide, but he paſſed the water putting them to flight, and after thei fledde into the Citie, he wanne it by force. The children were ſlain, and the reſte ſolde as ſlaues. He aſſaulted an other Citie where he was repulſed, with the greate force of the Defendauntes, and loſte many of his menne. But when the Inhabitauntes ſawe that he continued ſtill the ſiege, deſpairyng of their ſaulfe garde, thei ſette fire on their houſes,and burned thēſelues,their wiues,and their children. Whiche fire when the Macedons quēched and thei kindled the ſame againe, it ſemed a ſtraunge contencione, the Citizeins to deſtroie their owne citie, their enemies labouring to ſaue it:the Warres ſo contrariouſly chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature. The Caſtle was ſaued wherein a guarriſon was left. Alexander went about this caſtle by water whiche was enuironned with thre of the greateſt Riuers in all Inde, Ganges except. Indus paſſing vpon the Northe ſide,and Aceſines running into Hidaſpis vpon the ſouth Where theſe Riuers mette,the waues roſe like ſurges of the Sea, being full of mudde, and ooes, whiche by the courſe of the Water driuen vnto the ſides : for all that the riuers are broade,yet the chanelles are but narowe wherein the Shippes muſt paſſe. The waues did riſe ſo highe, and thicke, breaking ſometime vpon the Puppes of the ſhippes, and ſometime vpon the ſides, that the ſhipmenne beganne to vale their Sailes. But thei were ſo troubled through feare, and the violente ſwiftneſſe of the ſtreame,that thei could not ordre their tackling, ſo that twoo of their greateſt Shippes were drowned within ſight. And the ſmaller veſſelles whiche were as vnable to bee gouerned, were driuen vpon the ſhore withoute any harme. The King chaunced vpon the place whereas the waues went higheſt, wherewith his ſhippe was ſo toſſed,and trauerſed,that the healme could not directe his courſe. Wherefore the king doubtyng of drowning,pulled of his garment readie to caſte himſelf into the water,and his frēdes did ſwimme nere thereabout readie to receiue him: It appearing to him doubtfull,whiche peril was greateſt,either to ſwimme or to continue ſtille aboorde. But the Marineres laboured wonderfullie with their oares, adding all the force that laie in mās power to cut through the waues by whoſe importunate trauaile, the water ſemed to diuide a ſoondre, and to geue place, ſo that at length thei haled out of the ſurges, and yeat not able to bringe the ſhippe to the ſhore, daſhed vpon the next flat, it appering that the ſhippes, and the ſtreame had fought a battaile togethers. Alexander hauing eſcaped this perille, ſet vp to euery riuer an aultare, whereupon he offred due ſacrifice, and that dooen, paſt forwarde thirtie furlonges

Sudrichans
Malliās

From thens he came into the countreie of the Sudrichans, and Mallians, whiche accuſtomed to bee at Warre emongeſt theimſelues, then for their owne Defence, thei ioigned in ſocietie. Thei aſſembled in armes to the numbre of .ix. M. footmen. x. M. horſemen, and .ix C. armed wagons, whereof when the Macedones were aduertiſed, whiche beleued that thei had paſſed all perilles, ſeing a freſhe warre ariſe, with a newe fierce nation, were amaſed with a ſodeine feare, and beganne againe with ſedicious woordes to reproue their King.

The Mutinous woordes of the ſouldiours.

Thei alleged that he woulde lately haue compelled them to paſſe the Riuer of Ganges, for to make warre vpon thoſe nations liyng beyonde theſame, whiche enterpriſe though it were lefte, thei hadde not for all that ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a newe labour, being putte foorth emongſt theſe wilde nationes, to make the Ocean Sea open to him with their bloudde, and to be drawen beyonde the Sunne, and Sterres. Thei were compelled (thei ſaied) to viſite thoſe places, whiche Nature coueted to remoue from mannes knowelege. Thei grudged that to their newe Armoure, there were newe enemies raiſed vp, whom if thei ſhoulde vanquiſhe, and putte to flight, thei coulde not ſee what benefeicte thei coulde receiue thereby, but onely darkeneſſe and obſcuritie of the Aire, whiche alwaies couered the deepe Sea, repleniſhed with multitude of monſters, wallowing in thoſe immouable waters, where as nature decaying, ſhe failed of her force. The king litle moued in his awne reſpecte, was greatlie troubled with thoſe paſſions of his ſouldiours. Wherefore he aſſembled theim altogether declaring of how feble a force thoſe nacions were, whom thei feared ſo muche, whiche only remained, and were impediment vnto theim (hauing paſſed ouer ſo many countries) to attaine bothe to the fulle of their trauaill, and to the ende of the worlde. He ſhewed how that in reſpecte of their former feare, he hadde lefte his enterpriſe ouer Ganges, with the conqueſt of the nacions inhabiting beyonde theſame, and hadde directed his iourneie this waie, where as their glorie ſhoulde bee as great, and their perill muche leſſe, and wherein thei hadde not farre to trauaill, ſeing the Ocean was in maner within ſighte, the Aire whereof he felte blowing in his face. He required theim therefore that thei woulde not enuie the glorie that he ſoughte, by paſſing the boundes of Hercules, and Bacchus, ſeing that with ſo litle paine thei might geue vnto their king perpetuall fame and immortalitie. In doing whereof thei ſhoulde departe out of India as victorous, where as otherwiſe thei ſhoulde ſeeme to flie awaie from thens. It is the propertie of euery multitude, and ſpeciallie of menne of warre, to bee drawen with euery litle mocion, emonges whom as ſedicion dothe ſone riſe, ſo it is ſone pacified. There was neuer a more cherefull crie made of any armeie before, then the Souldiours then made vnto Alexander, whiche willed him to leade

them

wallowinge

Alexander perſwaded his ſouldiours.

theim whether ſoeuer he woulde, and make himſelfe equall in glorie to theim, whoſe actes he did counterfeite. Alexander reioiſing in the willingneſſe that appeared in theim, remoued ſtreightwaies towardes his enemies, that were the ſtowteſt people of all the Indians. Thei prepared theim ſelues ſtowtlie for the warres, and choſe for their Capitaine one of the Oxidracans that was of an approued manhode: Who encamping at the foote of a mountaine, made fiers all abroade, to cauſe his numbre appeare the greater, and wente aboute in vaine to feare the Macedones, when thei were in reſte, by making of Alarmes, with their cries and maner of howling. When the daie appeared, Alexander hauing an aſſured truſte to winne the victorie, commaunded the Souldiours to put on their armoure, and cherefullie to fall in ordre of battaill.

But the Indians, whether it were for feare, or by reaſon of ſome ſedicion riſen emonges theim, ſodainelie fledde into the deſerte mountaines, whom Alexander folowed in vaine, and not able to ouertake theim, toke their cariage. After this he came vnto a Citie of the Oxidracans wherunto great numbre were fled, aſwel in truſte of the ſtrengthe of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexāder was about to make the approche, Demephon his diuiner admoniſhed him, that he ſhould either deferre the matier, or els not medle with it at all, for that there appeared ſignes that his life ſhoulde be in perill. When Alexander had hearde his wordes, he behelde him, and ſaied: If any mā ſhould interrupt the, when thou art buſie aboute thy ſcience, or conſidering of the intrailes, ſhould not he ſeme vnto the troublous, and his comming bee vngratefull? Yes truely (quod he.)

he.) So art thou nowe vnto me (quod Alexander.) For hauing ſo great matiers in hande, of more momēt then the entrailes of beaſtes I finde no greater impedimēt then a ſuperſticious diuiner. And as ſone as he had ſpoken the worde, he cauſed theim to rere vp ladders, and whiles other menne ſticked, and ſtaied at the matier, he mounted vp the walle. Theſame was very narowe in the toppe, not diuided with lopes (as is commonlie vſed) but encloſed with one whole and continuall battilment rounde about, whiche cauſed it to bee the more harde to ſcale.

A sharpe taunt geven unto Demophon.

Loppes.

Alexander therefore hauing no conuenient rowme to ſtande at his defence, ſtaied vpon the walle, receiuing vpon his target the dartes whiche were caſte at him from all partes. His Souldeours coulde not gette vnto him, thei were ſo beaten from the walles by the multitude of ſhot that came from aboue. Yet at length when by their ſtaiyng thei ſawe their Kinge geuen vp into their enemies handes, ſhame ouercame their imminent daunger. But their ouermuche haſte was ouer great a lette, and the cauſe why, thei coulde not come to the reſcue of their king.

Imminent;

For whiles euery man coueted vp the ladders, thei were ſo ſore laden that thei brake aſunder, and ſuche as were mounted vpon theim fell downe againe, deceiuinge Alexander of his onely hope. So that in the ſighte of all the armeie, he ſtode deſtitute as in a Deſerte, without any aide or ſuccoure, and hadde weried his lefte arme (with the whiche he helde his Target) in receiuing the blowes. His frendes cried vnto him that he ſhoulde leape downe vnto theim, who ſtode in a readineſſe to receiue him. But he geuing no eare vnto them, vndertoke an incredible enterpriſe, and ſuch

one

A desperate
Attempt.

one as hath not been hearde of before, deſeruing rather fame of raſheneſſe, then of any commendacion that mighte ſounde to his glorie. For with a full leape he did caſte himſelfe into the citie that was ful of his enemies, where as he coulde ſcarcelie haue any hope to fighte for his life, or in diyng to bee reuenged vpon his enemies. For before he coulde recouer his feete againe, it was likelie either he ſhoulde haue been ſlaine, or taken aliue. But he by chaunce ſo conueied his bodie, that he fell vpon his feete, and ſtanding, encountred with ſuche as came againſt him: Fortune ſo prouiding that he coulde not be encloſed aboute by reaſon of an olde tree, whiche (as it had been of purpoſe) ſtode nere vnto the wall: whoſe broade boughes full of leaues couered him from aboue, and the greatneſſe of the ſtocke kepte his enemies from comming on his backe, and vpon the fore fronte he receiued the dartes ẏ were caſt againſt him with his target. For though thei were neuer ſo many that contended with him a farre of, yet durſte there no man come nere vnto him, and the boughes kept of the arrowes and the dartes ſo wel, as his target did. In this extremitie the greatneſſe of Alexanders fame chieflie, fought for him, and next deſperatiō: a great encouragement for a man to die honeſtlie. At length through the multitude of his enemies that continuallie flocked about him, both his target was laden with ſhotte, his helmet was broken with ſtones, and his legges fainted and failed vnder him, by reaſon of his continuall trauaile. Whiche thing when his enemies perceiued, thei toke leſſe regarde to theim ſelues, and drue more nere him, of whom he receiued two with his ſweorde in ſuche ſorte, that thei fell downe deade at his feete. And from that time forwardes none was

Fame &
desperation:
yt woulde
encourage a
man to dye
in an honeste
cause, rather
then to liue
wth shame &
reproche.

ſo bolde to approche agayne ſo neare hym, but threwe dartes and ſhotte arrowes at hym a farre of. He lay open to euery mans blowe, and yet though it were wyth great payne defended hym ſelfe vpon hys knees, vntil ſuche tyme as an Indian ſhotte an arowe at him that was two cubites long, whyche a lytle aboue hys ryghte thyghe paſſed throughe hys corſelet. By reaſon of that wounde he ſhedde ſo muche bloude, that he lette hys ſwerde fall, as one at the pointe of death. And therwyth became ſo faynte, that he hadde not ſtrength to plucke out the arrowe. Then the Indian whyche hadde hurte hym, came wyth greate ioye to ſpoyle hys bodye. But when Alexander felte hys enemies hande vpon hym (moued as it is to be thought) wyth deſpite, to receiue an infamie to that extremitie, called againe his ſprites that were paſſynge awaye, and with hys ſwerde thruſte his enemye (beyng vnarmed) through the bodye.

When he had thus ſlayne two of hys enemies whych laye deade before hym, al the reſt ſtode amaſed a farre of. Then Alexander deſirynge before hys laſt breathe ſhoulde faile to be kylled fyghtynge, began to rayſe vp hys body vpon hys target. Yet his ſtrength would not ſerue him therunto, and therefore reached at a boughe that honge ouer hys heade, couetynge thereby to haue rayſed vp hymſelfe. But hys power not ſuffiſynge therunto, he fell downe agayne vpon hys knees, and by a ſygne made with his hand chalenged his enemies if any of them durſt come and matche wyth hym.

At the laſte Peuceſtes repulſyng his enemies vpon an other parte of the citie, gotte into the towne, and coaſtynge along the walles came vnto the place where the kynge was. When Alexander eſpied hym, thoughe he had no hope to liue, yet he toke his comming for a com-

Scarce credible
that one man
shoulde wᵗstond
so manye.

fort to hys death, and for all hys feablenes beganne to reare vp him ſelf. Then came Timeus, and wythin a while Leonatus, and after then Ariſtonus. When it was once publiſhed emonges the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the walles, thei left their defence in other places, and came flockynge thither, where as they fiercely aſſailed ſuch as ſtode in defence of the kynges perſon. Tymeus after that he hadde fought notablye, and receiued manie woundes, was there ſlayne. Peuceſtes alſo notwithſtandyng that he was ſtricken and wounded with their dartes, yet with his target he defended the kynges perſon, without enie regarde of him ſelfe. And Leonatus whiles he reſiſted the Indians, that egerlye preſſed vpon Alexander, receiued ſo ſore a ſtripe vpon the necke, that he fel downe in a ſowne at the kynges feete. By that time Peuceſtes became ſo feable of his woundes that he was not able to defende hym eny more. The laſte hope and refuge remayned in Ariſtonus, who alſo was ſo greuouſly wounded, that he coulde not endure eny lenger the force of the Indians.

Timeus.
Leonatus.
Ariſtonus.

In the meane ſeaſon the fame was ſpreade emonges the Macedons, that their kynge was ſlayne: whiche beinge a matter that ſhoulde haue putte others in feare, ſturred vp their hartes, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwardes, there was none that hadde reſpect of his owne peryll, but aduentured to the wall, and breakynge downe the ſame wyth pykeaxes, entred at the breache, makinge ſlaughter of their enemies, of whom fewe ſtode at defence, but fledde awaye. There was neuer man nor woman ſpared olde nor younge. For they mette none, but they iudged hym to be the perſon that hadde hurte their kinge, and ſo at length with the murder of the multitude their luſt Ire was ſatiſfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes do wryte that Ptolomeus whyche afterwardes became kyng of Egipte was preſente in thys encountre. But he hym ſelfe that vſed not to denye eny thynge that ſtode with his owne glorye, did put in memorye howe that he was then abſent, ſente aboute an other enterpryſe. Suche a negligence was in theim that did wryte the antiquyties of thinges, or els an ouer muche credulitye, whyche is a faulte no leſſe then theother. When Alexander was brought into hys lodgyng the Surgions cut of the ſtale of that ſhafte in ſuch wiſe, that they moued not the heade that was wythin the fleſhe. And when they ſawe the wounde bare, they perceyued hokes to be wythin the arrowe heade, ſo that wythout the deſtruction of his bodie, it could not be pulled out, except by inciſion they made the wounde greater. And yet in that poynte they feared, leaſt aboundaunce of bloud ſhould be impediment vnto theim. For the heade was verye great, and it ſeamed to be entered farre wythin hys bodye.

Clitarchus
Timagenes

~~Insition~~
Incision

There was one Critobolus that was verye cunnynge and moſte excellente emonges all the Phyſitions and ſurgions, and yet in ſo daungerous a matter as this, he was feareful and in doubt to ſet to his handes, leaſt if eny thinge ſhoulde chaunce to the kinge otherwiſe then wel, whyles he remayned in thys cure, the blame myght lyght vpon his heade. Therfore whē Alexāder perceiued by his weping the feare he was in, and that through trouble of mynd he loked pale in the face, ſayde vnto hym: What is it that thou lokeſt for, or whye doeſt thou ſtaye in ryddynge me quickly out of this payne, at the leaſte wayes by death, if thou canſt not otherwyſe brynge it to paſſe: For ſeinge my wounde is uncurable, why doeſt thou feare that eny thing ſhould be layed unto thy charge. When Critobolus hearde his wordes, he eyther ceaſſed, or dyſſimuled hys feare, and exhorted Alexander that he woulde ſuffer him ſelfe to be holden whyles they pulled out ÿ arrowe heade that was wythin his fleſhe, for the leaſt mocion (he ſaied) myghte be hurtefull unto hym. The kynge woulde not be holden, but helde hys bodye at a ſtaye wythout mouyng in ſuch ſort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wounde wyder, and pulled out the heade, there iſſued ſuche aboundaunce of bloude, that the kynge fel in a ſowonde, a dymnes came over his ſyght, he ſtretchyng out hym ſelfe as one in ÿ panges of death. Then they wroughte all the meanes they coulde to ſtaunche the bloude; but when they perceyved it would not avayle, his frendes beganne to cry out and lament, thynkynge verely that there had bene no waye but death. Notwithſtanding at length he ceaſed his bleadyng, and recoueryng agayne his ſpirites, began to knowe theym that ſtode about hym. All that daye and the nyghte enſuynge, the men of warre ſtode in armes aboute the kynges lodgyng, confeſſyng that al their lives depended upon his breath and would not remove from thence, before they underſtode that he toke ſome reſt. But when they knewe that he was fallen a ſleape, they returned into the campe, bryngynge unto the reſt more certain hope of hys recovery. Alexander aboute the curyng of hys wounde, remayned there ſeuen dayes, and underſtandynge that a conſtant fame of hys deathe was ſpreade abroade emonges the Indians, he cauſed two Shyppes to be faſtened

Alexander &
[illegible] him god
[illegible] to &
[illegible] him
ſelfe a man,
and no god.

ned together, and a lodgynge to be made for hym in the myddes. So that remaynynge vppon the water, he mighte be ſene from bothe ſydes of the lande of theim that thought he hadde bene deade. When they countrey men by the viewe of hym, perceyued he was on lyue, they toke awaye the hope that ſome hadde conceyued, vpon the falſe report. Frō thence he paſſed downe the ſtreame, leauyng a dyſtaunce betwene hys ſhyppe, and the reſt of the nauye, to the entente that wyth the beatynge of the ores, they ſhoulde not dyſturbe hym of his reſte, whyche was neceſſarye for hys weake body. The fourth daye after hys enbarkynge, he came into a countrey habandoned of the inhabitours, but yet plentifull bothe of corne and cattel, in whyche place he thought expediente bothe to reſt hym ſelfe, and hys ſouldiours. It was a cuſtome emonges the Macedons, that when their kynge was dyſeaſed, the chiefe Princes, and the greate men, watched aboute hys lodgyng. Whyche maner beynge then obſerued, they entred all together into the chamber where Alexander laye: at whoſe ſodayne commyng he was ſomewhat amaſed, ſpeciallye becauſe they came all together. He thought they had brought him ſome ſtraunge tidynges and enquired of theim, if they vnderſtode of eny newe aſſemble of his enemies. Then Craterus whiche was appoynted to ſpeake in the behalfe of them all, ſayed to hym after thys maner.

Enbarkinge.

Amaſed.

Craterus wordes to Alexander.

Do you thyncke that the commyng of eny enemies coulde make vs ſo carefull (though they were entered within your campe) as we be of your health and ſaufeguarde, for all that it is a thynge whyche you reguarde leaſt. Though all nacions conſpire againſte vs wyth their power, though the whole worlde were fylled full of men of warre, the Seas ouer ſpreade wyth ſhyppes and neuer ſo many ſtraunge beaſtes brought agaynſte vs, it conſiſteth in the momente of youre perſonne to make vs victorers. But howe can eny God promiſe yͭ you whych be lyght and ſtarre of Macedon, can be of eny continuaunce? ſeynge that you be ſo deſierous to put your perſone in ſuche manifeſt perylls, not remembrynge that wyth youre death you drawe wyth you into ruine, the lyues of ſo manye of youre countrey men? What is he that either can or dothe deſire to lyue after you? We are come ſo farre forth folowynge youre fortune and auctoritye, that wythout you, none of vs is able to returne home againe.

If ye were yet contendynge wyth Darius for the kingdome of Perce, though we all woulde wyſhe that you woulde not aduenture your perſon ſo peryllouſlye yet in that caſe we coulde not maruayle ſo muche of youre prompte audacitye. For where the daunger and the benefite that enſueth therof is equal, then the fruit is the greater, when the matter ſucceadeth well, and the comforte is the more, when the thynge chaunſeth euyll. There is no man, not onelye of vs that be youre ſouldiours but euen of ſuche as were youre enemyes, hauynge enye vnderſtandynge of youre greatnes, that canne ſuffer ſo baſe a towne and of ſo little fame, be bought wyth the pryce of your lyfe. My harte ſhrynkes at the remembraunce of the thynge, whiche we but late dyd ſee wyth oure eyes. I am amaſed to rehearſe howe thoſe vile handes were in readines to haue caryed the ſpoyles of youre inuyncible perſone, if Fortune of her mercye hadde not preſerued and delyuered you from their crueltye. So manye of vs as were not able to folowe you, were all traytours and forſakers of

prompt & Audacitie

The heathens did aſcribe alle to fortune our Prince. And though it were a matter that laye not in our power, yet if it pleaſe you to note vs al with reproche, there is none that wil refuſe eny punyſhemente in the purgation of the matter. Notwithſtandynge we woulde require that you woulde ſpare vs for ſome other purpoſe. We will gladly go whether ſoeuer ye will haue vs, we require warre be it neuer ſo obſcure, and couet the battaile, thoughe our fightynge ſhall wante fame. So that you will reſerue your ſelfe to thoſe haſardes, whiche be mete for the greatnes of your eſtate. Howe ſone doth glorye vaniſhe awaye and become of no prayſe, emonges ſuch enemies as be of no reputacion? And what thynge is there more vnworthy, then to conſume the glorye ye haue gotten els where emonges them, where as your glory can not appeare. When Craterus hadde tolde hys tale, Ptolome and the other ſpake to hym in lyke effecte. And required hym all at once wyth weapynge eyes, that he woulde not from thence forth be eny more ſo thirſty to wynne praiſe, but ſeynge he hadde gotte ſufficiente all readye, he ſhould content hym ſelfe therwithall and reguarde his health and ſafeguard, wherupon their vniuerſal eſtate did depende. The kynge toke ſo gratefully their louynge affection, that he familiarlye embraced euerye one of them, and after he had wylled them to ſitte, repetynge more deapely their former communication, he ſayed thus vnto them.

My faiethfull louynge frendes and countreymen, I geue and render to you my hartye thanckes, not only for that ye prefer my ſaufegard before your own, but alſo for that ſence the begynnyng of ỹ warres, ye haue not pretermitted eny thynge, wherin your loue & beneuolence myght be ſhewed towardes me. So ỹ I muſt

Alexander vnto hys frendes.

Benevolence.

confeſſe that my lyfe was neuer ſo deare as it is now, becauſe I deſire long to enioye you. You be deſierous to offer youre ſelues to death in my quarell, becauſe you iudge that I haue deſerued that beneuolence at your handes. But your imaginacion and myne is not after one ſort. You peraduenture do couet continually to enioye me, and to take of me continual fruit. And I meaſure not my ſelf by the continuaũce of my time, but by the greatnes of my glorye. I myghte haue bene content wyth the ryches my father lefte me, and with reſt of my bodye haue loked for wyth the boundes of Macedon, an age obſcure and without eny fame. And yet I can not ſee that they which liue in ſlougth and ydlenes, can aſſure them ſelues of their own deſtenye. For euen ſuche as eſteme felicitye in longe life, be oftentimes preuented wyth ſodayne death. But I whyche numbre not my yeres, but my victoryes, haue liued long, if I wyll weye the gyftes of fortune. For begynnyng myne Empire in Macedonia, I haue Greace in myne owne handes, I haue ſubdued Thrace and the Illirians, I reigne ouer the Triballes and the Medians, poſſeſſynge all Aſia that lye betwixte Helleſponte and the redde Sea, and nowe am not farre from the ende of the worlde, the whyche I determined to viſite, and to make open to men a newe nature, and a newe worlde. I paſſed out of Aſia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and beynge but .xxviii. yeres olde, and hauyng raygned but nine, am be come victorer of both regions.

They that & conuey them
ſelues longe
lyeff, wa oft
tymes preuented
by ſodeyne de
athe.

Do you thynke it then mete y^t I ſhould nowe ceaſſe from wynnyng of that glorye, whereunto I haue onely addict my ſelfe? No, I wil neuer ceaſſe, but wherſoeuer

I ſhall haue occaſion to fight. I ſhall thinke my ſelfe to be in the Theatre, where the whole worlde dothe beholde me. I wyll geue nobilitye and fame to places that be obſcure. And wyll laye open to all Nacions thoſe countreys that nature hath remoued furdeſt frõ them. In doyng wherof it ſhall be gratefull for me to ende my lyfe, if Fortune will haue it ſo. I am come of ſuche a ſtocke, that I ought to deſire many thinges before long life. I praye you to remember that we be come into thoſe countreyes where the name of a woman is much celebrated for her vertues. What cityes did Semyramis builde? what nacions did ſhe ſubdue? and what great workes did ſhe accompliſhe? We are not yet become equal to a woman in glory, and yet you woulde haue me to be ſatiſfied of laude. The Goddes be fauourable vnto our purpoſe; for there remaine for vs yet greater thinges to do. And it is the next way to make thoſe countreys we haue not yet touched to become ours, if we eſteme nothyng to be of ſmall valure, where as there is eny occaſion to winne glorye. Let it be your care onely to preſerue me from ciuill conſpiracye and treaſon of mine owne people, and thẽ there be no aduentures of the warre ſhall put me in feare. Philippe was more ſure in the fronte of the battayle abrode, thẽ when he was in quiet at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies, but he coulde not eſchue the violẽce of his owne ſubiectes. And if you cõſider the ende of other kynges, you ſhall counte more that haue bene ſlayne by their owne men, then by enye forayne power. But becauſe there is an occaſion nowe offered me to vtter the thinge I haue long conceyued in my mynde. It ſhall be the greateſt fruite I can receyue of my actes & my trauayles, if my mother

Note

Treason hath
slaine more
kinges then
enimies.

O=

Olympiades when ſhe departeth this life, might be conſecrated to immortalitye. If ſhe departe in my time, I wyll do the thing my ſelfe. But if I ſhall be preuented by deathe, remembre you to perfourme that I haue determined. And therupon he diſmiſſed his frendes from him, and continued manye dayes in the ſame place.

A rebellion of the Grekes whiche Alexander had plãted at Catabactria.

Whiles theſe thinges were a doynge in India, the Greake ſouldiours that had lande and habitation appoynted them at Catabactra, through a ſediciō ẏ chaũſed emonges them, rebelled agaynſte hym. Not ſo much for enye hatred they bare hym, as for feare of puniſhemente. For they kylled diuers of their chiefe rulers, and aſſemblynge in force togethers, toke the Caſtle of Bactria that was negligentlye kepte, and procured the Bactriãs to rebel with thẽ. Athenodorus was the chiefe emõges thẽ, who toke vpõ him the name of a king, not ſo much for the deſire of the kingdome, as by auctoritie to make hym ſelfe of power to conuey him ſelfe and others home into his countrey. But one Bycon of hys owne nacion became his enemye, and conſpirynge agaynſt him, did bidde him to a banquet, where he was ſlayne by one Boxus Macerianus. The nexte day folowyng, Bycon aſſembled the Greakes together, perſwadyng theim that he ſlewe Athenodorus but in hys owne defence, whoſe purpoſe was to haue deſtroyed hym. But there were ſome that perceiued his poliſye, and ſuſpicion was ſpreade emonges the reſt. So that the Greakes fel to armes of purpoſe to ſlea Bycon.

Athenodorus.

Bycon.

But ſuche as were chiefe mitigated the wrathe of the multitude, and contrarye to his expectation was deliuered from that preſent peryll. Yet he could not be ſo contented, but within a whyle after, conſpired agaynſt them that ſaued his life, whoſe falſhode knowẽ, they toke bothe him and Borus, determinynge that Borus ſhoulde be putte to deathe oute of hande, and that Bycon ſhoulde ende his life by tormentes. As they were tormentynge of him, the Greake ſouldiours ſodainelye in a furye (for what cauſe it is uncertayne) ranne to armes, the noyſe of whō beyng hearde wyth them that hadde the charge of Bycon, dyd ſette hym at libertye, fearyng that the rumoure hadde bene made for his deliuerye. He as he was naked came running emonges the Greakes, where as they were aſſembled. whoſe miſerable eſtate ſo ſodainly chaunged their mindes that thei willed him immediatly to be ſet at liberty.

By thys meanes Bycon beyng twiſe deliuered frō death, retourned into his countrey wyth the Greakes, leauyng the Colonye wherunto he was appoynted by Alexander. Theſe thinges were done in the confynes of Bactria and Scythia. In the meane ſeaſon the kyng of the two Nacions whyche we ſpake of before, ſent an hundred Embaſſadours unto Alexander, whiche beyng menne of goodly perſonages, rydde in wagons ſemely appareyled, hauyng garmentes of linnen clothe embrodered with golde, and empaled with purple. They declared that the cauſe of their commynge was to yelde them ſelues, their citye, their coūtrey, and their libertye, (whiche they hadde kept inuiolately by ſo many ages) to his wil ⁊ appointment. Of whiche their ſubmiſſion the Gods (they ſaied) were aucthours, ⁊ not eny feare, for they were contented to yelde them ſelues before they had proued their power with him. The king called a coūſaile, and receiued them under his protection, appointyng to them to pay ſuche tribute as they before payed to the Arachoſians. And beſides to ſende

Inviolatly

two thouſand fiue hundred horſemen to ſerue hym in his warres: all whiche thinges they perfourmed obediently. Thys done he made a greate feaſte, wherunto he inuited thoſe Embaſſadours, and hys Lordes.

Sumptuous preparation

He vſed therin ſumptuous preparation, ordeynynge. C. beddes of golde to eate vpon: which beyng ſet a ſmall diſtaunce one from another, were drawen about wyth curtaines garniſhed with goulde and purple. In that feaſte there was ſhewed and ſette forthe all the exceſſe and voluptuouſnes, which either by long cuſtome was vſed emong the Perciãs, or by corruption of their olde vſages taken vp emonges the Macedons: the vyces of both thoſe nacions beyng there mingled and mixed togethers.

Dioxippus

There was at that feaſt one Dioxippus of Athens a notable champion, by reaſon of his excellent force well knowen vnto the Kynge, whom certayne enuiouſſe and maliciouſſe perſones, betwyxte earneſte and paſtyme, dyd reproue that he was geuen to fatte his bodye as an vnprofitable beaſte. And when that other went to the battaile, he would anoint his body with oyle, & prepare him ſelfe to eate.

Horratus.

Emonges other that vſed woordes of deſpite againſte him, there was at the ſame feaſt one Horratus a Macedon, who in his dronkennes chalenged Dioxippus, that if he were a man, he ſhould fight the campe wyth hym the nexte daye vpon lyfe and death, where as the kynge ſhoulde iudge either him to be to raſhe, or thother to much a daſtard. Dioxippus then laughyng to ſcorne the pride and arrogancy of the ſouldiour accepted his profer.

A combatte

The nexte day they were more earneſt to go to the combatte, then they were before in makyng of the chalenge, therefore when the king ſawe them ſo bente, and that they would not leaue their purpoſe, he conſented to their wil.

There were greate nombre of men aſſembled at the combatte, emonges whom there were many Grecians whyche fauoured Dioxippus parte. The Macedon came into the Lyſtes armed at all peaces, holding in his left hande an yron buckler and a ſpeare, and in his right hande a caſting launce, & hauing his ſworde beſides girte to hys ſyde, was furniſhed as though he ſhould haue fought wyth many men at once. Dioxippus came furth anoynted wyth oyle, wyth a garlande vpon his heade, and hauing a redde cloth wrapt about his left arme, held in hys righthande a great knottye cudgel. The dyuerſitie of their furniſhement brought euery man in a wonderful expectaciõ. For they could not thinke it only a raſhenes but a madnes for Dioxippus that was naked, to matche wyth the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kil his aduerſary before they ſhould come to hande ſtrippes, threwe at him his launce, whiche Dioxippus auoided with bending of his body, & before that he could charge his pike he leaped to him and with his cudgel brake the ſame aſondre. When the Macedon had loſt both his weapõs, he beganne to drawe hys ſworde, but Dioxippus preuented him wyth a cloſe, & takinge both his fete from vnder him, threw him to the earth and there plucking hys ſworde from him, ſet his foote vpon his necke, and held vp his cudgell to haue ſtriken out hys braynes, if the king had not cauſed him to ſtaye his hand. Thys triumphe ended with diſpleaſure bothe vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander hym ſelfe, ſpecially becauſe thys thing was done in the Indians preſence, fearing leſt the valiauntnes of the Macedõs famed ſo muche in the worlde, might therby come into contẽpt. Hereupon Alexãder grudging at Dioxippus, bare hys

eares

Two men were
furnished after
sundrie sorte.

[illegible]

Note

eares open to the accuſacion of the enuyous. They wythin a fewe dayes after had cauſed a golden cuppe to be purpoſely conueyed out of the waye, whyche the myniſters hauing embeſeled, made complaynte vnto Alexander of the loſſe therof. Oftymes men ſhewe leſſe conſtauncy in countenaunce, then in the offence it ſelfe. For in their complaint, Dioxippus perceiued by their lokes that they noted hym as the thiefe, which he coulde not endure, but partyng out of the feaſte after he hadde wrytten a letter to the kynge, he kylled hym ſelfe. Alexander was verye ſorye for his deathe whyche he tooke for no token of repentaunce, but rather of indignacion. For afterwardes it appeared through the ouermuche reioyſing of hys enemies, that he hadde bene falſely accuſed. The Embaſſadours of the Indians that were dymiſſed home, within a fewe dayes after returned agayne, preſenting vnto Alexander .ccc. horſes, a thouſande and thirtye wagons euery one drawen with foure horſes, certein veſtures of linnin cloth, M. Indian targettes, & an hundred talentes of white Iren, both lyons of a rare bygnes and Tigres that were made tame, the ſkinnes of great Lyzardes, and ỹ ſhelles of certayne fiſhes. The kyng then commaundyd Craterus to conduct his army a long the riuer, wherupon he ſayled, and he enbarking ſuche as were wont to accompany him, with the ſtreame paſſed into the boundes of the Mallians, and from thence came vnto the Sabracans, which was a nacion of greate power, not ruled by kynges, but by a gouernement of the poeple. They had gatheryd together .vi. M footemen and .vi. M horſemen, and .v. C armed wagons, and hadde choſen thre captaines that were approued men of warre. But when ſuche as in-

Sabracans

habited nere vnto the riuer (the bankes beyng full of villages) ſawe all the riuer ſo farre as they could viewe ouerſpreade with ſhippes, and the armoure gliſteryng of ſo manye men of warre, they were amaſed wyth the ſtraungnes of the ſight, and thought that ſome armye of the Goddes or elles Bacchus (whoſe name was famous emōges thoſe nacions) had bene come emōges them. The crye of the men of warre with the claſhyng of the ores, and the ſtraunge noyſe of the mariners exhortyng one another, filled full their fearefull eares. They ranne therefore emonges their countrey men which had aſſembled their force, declaryng their madnes if they woulde contende wyth Goddes. For they ſayed the ſhippes coulde not be numbred, that caried thoſe inuincible people. Wyth whyche wordes they put ſuche feare emonges the menne of warre of that ſame nation, that they ſente immediatelye Embaſſadours to yelde them ſelues. When he had receiued their ſubmiſſion, he came the fourth daye into an other countrey, the people wherof durſt no more withſtand him than the reſte did, and there he builded a citye which he named Alexandria, and frō thence entred into a countrey, the inhabitours wherof be called Muſycans.

Claſhinge

Jnvincible

There he vnderſtode by the accuſacion of the Caramyſiodans that Teſtirioles (whom Alexander had appointed lieutenaunt emōges them) had ruled in exceſſiue pride and coueitouſnes, & therfore cōmaunded him to be put to death. And Oxartes lieutenaūt of the Bactrians beyng alſo accuſed, was not onely acquited, but alſo had a greater rule cōmitted vnto him. Whē he had ſubdued ỹ uttermoſt partes of ỹ Muſicās, he put a garriſon in their citye, and wente from thence to another Nation of the Indians called Preſtians, of whome

Muſicans
Caramyſis dans.

Porticanus kyng of the Preſtians.

Porticanus was kyng, which with a great power gote him ſelfe into a ſtrong citye, whiche Alexander wanne the thyrde daye after he beganne his ſiege. Vpon the takyng of the towne, Porticanus fledde into the caſtle and ſent Embaſſadours to treate of peace. But before they were come to Alexanders preſence, two towers of the Caſtle fell wyth a greate craſhe, by the ruynes wherof the Macedons gote into the caſtle, where Porticanus which with a fewe ſtandyng at defence, was ſlayne. The caſtle beyng raſed and all that were wythin ſolde as ſlaues. Alexander came into the boundes of Saba, where beſides many holdes that yelded vnto hym, he toke the ſtrongeſt Citye of that Countrey by force of a myne. It ſeamed a monſtruous thing vnto the Indians, (beynge ignoraunte of ſuche polecies of warre) for armed men to come forthe of the grounde in the middes of their citye, wher as there appeared before no ſigne of eny way vnder ẏ earth. Clitarcus doth write, that there were foure ſcore thouſande Indians ſlayne in that countrey beſides manye pryſoners ſolde as ſlaues. The Muſicans in the meane tyme rebelled, for the oppreſſion of whom, Python was ſent thether, who toke the Prynce of the nacion pryſoner, and brought him to Alexander, whom he cauſed to be hanged vpon a croſſe as the aucthoure of the revolt, which done, returned againe to the ryuer where as he hadde willed his nauye to tarye for hym. The fourth daye after paſſynge downe the ſtreame, he came to a towne at the entrey of the kyngdome of Samus. The kyng wherof had newelye yealded hym ſelfe, but the Cytezens dyd ſhutte their gates, and would not be at commaundemente. Whoſe ſmall number Alexander reguar-

Saba.

Python,

Samus.

guarſo little that he ſente fiue hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proffer them the ſkyrmiſhe, to the intente by retiring little and little they myght drawe them out of their ſtrength, thinkyng that they would folowe in the chaſe when they ſhoulde ſee their enemies flyenge. The Agryans did as it was appointed them, for when they hadde once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backes, and the Indians folowed them, till they came to the embuſhemente where the kynge laye. Then the Agrians turned, and the fight was renued agayne ſo that of thre thouſand Indians there were fyue hundred ſlayne, and a thouſand taken, the reſt recouered agayne the Citye. But the ende of the vyctorye was not ſo pleaſaunt as it appeared in the beginnyng, for the Indians hadde ſo inuenymed their ſwordes, that ſuche as were hurte dyed of their woundes. And the Phiſicions coulde not deuiſe the cauſe of ſo ſtraunge a death, for euen the very lyght hurtes were vncurable. The Indians truſted that Alexander through hys raſhenes myghte haue come wythin that daunger, which by chaunce fyghtyng emõges the thyckeſt eſcaped vnhurte. Ptolomeus was lyghtlye wounded vpon his left ſhoulder. Who beyng in greater daungier, then the greatnes of hys wounde ſhewed, cauſed the kynge to be carefull of hym. For he was neare of hys kynne, and as ſome thought Philippe was hys father, but it is certayne that hys mother was Philippes cõcubyne. He was one of thẽ that had the charge of the kynges perſone, a valiaunt man of warre, ⁊ yet more famous in the faculties of peace. He was moderate both in his apparayle and lyuing, lyberall, eaſye to be ſpoken to, and wythout enye ſuche height of minde, as is wonte to be in men diſcended of

Inuenomede

Ptolomeus.

Note

bloud royall, by reaſon of whiche qualities, it is vncertayne whether he was better beloued with the king, or wyth the reſt of men. That was the fyrſte occaſion he had to proue how the mindes of mē were affectionate towardes him, for euen in that daunger the Macedōs beganne to deuyne of hys fortune, whereunto afterwardes he aſcended. They had no leſſe care of Ptolomeus, then of the kynge hym ſelfe, who vſed hym ſo familiarlye, that when he was weried eyther wyth trauayle, or care of mynde, woulde ſit for hys ſolace wyth Ptolomeus, and at that time cauſed hys bedde to be brought into hys owne chambre. When Ptolomeus was layde there, he fell ſodeynely in a profounde ſleape, in the whyche it ſeamed that a dragon offred to hym an herbe oute of hys mouthe for the healyng of hys wounde, and takyng awaye of the venyme. When he awaked, he declared his dreame, and ſhewed bothe the colour and faſhion of the herbe affirming that he coulde knowe it, if eny man coulde fynde it out. That ſame was ſought by ſo many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the woūd the payne ſtreightwayes ceaſſed, and the ſkarre wythin ſhort ſpace was cloſed. When the Indians were diſapoynted of the hope thei had conceyued that waye, they yelded them ſelues and their cytie. From thence Alexander wente into the next countrey called Pathalia, the kinge whereof called Meres left the citie and fledd in to the mountaynes, ſo that Alexāder toke the ſame, and deſtroyed al the countrey, fynding both a wonderfull pray of ſheape, of cattayle, and of corne.

Meres king of Pathalia

There he toke Pilotes that knewe the Ryuer, and came vnto an Iland whych ſtode in the middes of the ſtreame, where he was compelled to remaine the lenger. becauſe the Pilotes beyng negligently kept, were eſcaped awaye. He ſent therfore to ſeke out other, but when he coulde fynde none, there entered a vehement deſire into hys head to viſite without enye guyde the occean Sea, and the end of the worlde, commyttyng his owne lyfe, and the lyues of ſo many thouſandes, to a ryuer whyche none of them dyd knowe. They ſayled as men ignoraunte of all places they came vnto, either howe farre the Sea was diſtaunte from them, what nacions did inhabite the countreys there aboutes, or whether the mouth of the riuer were nauygable for Galeis or no. In all theſe thynges they were ledde by a blynde and doubfull imaginacion, hauinge no other comforte in their raſſhe enterpriſe, but only that they truſted their contuniall felicitie. When they had gone forwardes foure hundred furlonges, the ſhyppemaiſters told the kyng that they felte the ayre of the Sea, wherby they knewe that the Occean was at hand. Thereat he reioyſed greatlye, and exhorted the mariners, that they woulde in al that they myght, make waye wyth there oers to bring hym to the ſyght of the ende of the worlde, whych he had ſo long deſired. Nowe (quod he) our glory is perfite, whē our manhode is ſuch that nothing can ſtay vs. nowe yͤ worlde is come into our handes without enye further haſarde of warre or ſheadyng of bloude.

Navygable

Nowe ſynce the boundes that nature hathe wrought be ſo neare at hande, we ſhall ſhortly ſee thinges vnknowen ſauing to the immortall goddes. Yet notwythſtandyng ſette certayne vpō land to take ſome of the countrey men, by whome he truſted to haue knowen more certaintie of the truthe. When they ſearched out their cotagies, at length found out certaine yͤ were hydden. Whyche beyng demaunded howe farre the ſea was from them, they made aunſwere that they neuer heard it named, but they ſayed that within thre dayes ſaylyng they ſhoulde come vnto a place, where as a brakiſhe water did corrupt the freſhe. By whyche wordes the mariners vnderſtode that they mente the Sea of the nature wherof the people were ignoraunt. Then the mariners rowed cherefully, their deſire growing euer the greater, as they approched nere vnto the place, whiche they hoped, to be the ende of their trauayle. The third daye they came where the ſea and the riuer ioyned together, mixing with a ſmale floud their waters that were of a contrary nature. Then becauſe the tyde was ſomewhat againſte them, they haled towardes an other Iland ſtanding in the myddes of the ryuer, which beyng an eaſy place to lande at, the Macedons ran about to ſeke vyctuales in ſuretie (as thei thought) being ignoraunt of the chaunce that came vpon them. The thirde houre according to the ordinarye courſe the tyde came from the Sea, and wyth hys force dyd driue the ſtreame backeward, whyche at the firſte beyng but ſtayed was afterwardes ſo vehementlye repulced, that it cauſed the water to returne backwarde wyth greater fury then eny ſwifte ſtreame is wont to roune. The commen ſort that knewe not the nature of the Oceã, thought the ſame to be a wõderfull matter, and that it hadde bene a token ſente to them of the goddes wrath, and whiles they were in that imaginacion, the Sea ſwelling more and more, ouerflowed the land whyche they ſawe before drye, and as the water roſe the ſhippes mounted, and all the nauy was deſperkled here and there. Suche as were vpõ land were amaſed with ẏ ſodeinenes of the thing,

The nature of the occeã was vnknowen to the Macedons and ran from al partes in great feare vnto their ſhippes. But in a tumulte haſt doth hurte, & giuethe impediment. Some there were that went about to ſet their ſhippes forwardes, other forbad rowing and remoued not at all. Otherwhiles they made haſte awaye, and woulde not tary to take in their company, moued vnaptly, and could make no waye. Some when thei ſaw them preſſe a ſhipbord in ſuch thronges, for feare of takyng into many, woulde receyue none at all. So that both multitude & ſmal numbre, was a let vnto yͤ haſte they made. The crye that ſome made in bidding men tary, and the noiſe that other made willing them to go forwardes, with their voyces that differed, and agreyd not in one effect, toke away the vſe both of their ſight and hearing. The mariners could not helpe yͤ matter whoſe wordes in the tumult coulde not be harde, nor their commaundementes obſerued emonges men in feare and out of order. The ſhyppes therfore daſhed one agaynſt an other, the Ores craſſhed a ſonder, and euery ſhippe either thurſte forwardes, or put backe an other. No man would haue iudged it to be one nauye, but rather two ſondrye fighting a battaile togither vpon the Sea. The prores did ſtricke againſt the puppes, ſuch as went before troubled them that came after, & the wordes of mē in their wrath, came vnto ſtrypes. By yͤ time the fludde had ouer flowen al the playnes thereabout, ſo that nothing appeared aboue the water ſauing the hilles whiche ſeamed lyke lytle Iſlandes, whereunto many did ſwimme & lefte their ſhippes for feare. Whiles the nauye thus diſparkled abrode, partly ſtode a floote when they hapened in enye valey, and parte ſtycked vpon the grounde, if they dyd hit vpon the flattes, according to yͤ ground which was ouerflowen: ſodeinly their came an other terror greatter then the firſte. For when the Sea began to ebbe the water fell backe agayne into hys wonted courſe wyth ſo great violence as it came forwardes and reſtored the ſyght of the lande, whiche before was drowned as in a depe Sea. The ſhyppes then forſaken of the water fell vpon their ſides, and the feldes were ſtrowen with broken bordes and with peaces of Ores The ſouldiers durſte not goo furth to land, and yet were in feare to tarye a ſhipbord loking euer for ſome greatter michiefe to come, then yͭ they ſawe preſent or paſte. Thei coulde ſcarſly beleue that they ſawe & ſuffred, which was ſhipwarck vpon the land, and the Sea within a riuer. And they thought no end coulde come of this myſchiefe, for they knewe not that the fludde ſhould ſhortly returne agayne and ſet their ſhippes aflote. And therefore they Imagined to them ſelues famyne and all extremities. The monſters allſo of the Sea whiche after yͤ water was paſte were left on drye land, put them in great feare. The nyght approched, and deſpayre brought the Kynge into a great agonye. Yet no care coulde ſo ouercome his hart that was inuincible, but that he watched all night, and ſente horſemen to the mouth of the riuer, to bring him word whā the tide came. He cauſed two ſhippes yͭ were broken to be amendyd, and ſuch as were ouerwhelmed to be hoiſed vp againe, warning al mē to laye awayt and be in redines agaynſt the water ſhould riſe. When he hadde conſumed al that night in watching and geuing exhortacion to his men, ſtreightwaies the horſemen returned a mayne gallop, and the fludde folowed them: which mildly encreaſing began to raiſe agayne their ſhippes, and when it hadde once ouerflowen the bankes, the holle nauye began to moue. Then al the coost rebounded with the vnmeaſurable reioiſing that the ſouldiers and mariners made for their ſaulfguard whereof they were before in dyſpaire. When they ſawe the daungier paſte they enqueryd with wonder one of an other, by what reaſō the ſea could ſo ſone after that maner ebbe and flowe, and debated the nature of that element, whice one while diſagryed, and an other whil was obedient and ſubiect to the time. The kyng coniecturing by the ſignes he had ſene before, that after ẏ ſonne riſyng the tyde would ſerue hys purpoſe, to preuent the matter, at midnight wyth a fewe ſhippes he fleted down the ſtreame, and paſſing out at the mouth of the riuer, entred foure hūdred furlongs into the ſea where atteyning the thing that he deſired, made ſacrifice to the goddes of the Sea which were worſhipped in thoſe countreyes, & returned again into his nauye. From thence the next daye he returned backwardes agaynſt the ſtreame, and arriued at a ſalt lake, the nature wherof beynge vnknowne diſceyued many that raſhely enteryd into the water: for ther bodies by and by became ful of ſcabbes, which diſceaſe taken by ſome, the contagyon therof infectyd many other. But they founde that oyle was a reamedy for the ſame. Alexander lyeng ſtil wᵗ hys army waiting for the ſpring time of ẏ yeare, ſent Leonatus before by thei land waie he where thought to paſſe, for to digge welles bicauſe the countrey was verye drye and deſtitute of water. In the meane ſeaſon he builded many Cytyes, and commaunded Nearchus & Oneſycritus (that were moſt experte of naual thinges) with his ſtrongeſt ſhippes to paſſe into the Ocean, and to go ſo farre forwardes as they myght wᵗ ſuretye, for to vnderſtand the nature of the ſea and willed them at theyr returne to land either

Nearchus.
Oneſicritus

with

wͭ that riuer, or elles within Euphrates. When ẏ winter was wel paſſed, he burned thoſe ſhippes which he occupied not, and conueyed his armye by land. After ix. encampinges he came into the coũtrey of ẏ Arabitans, and from thence in nine dayes came emonges the Gedroſians, which being a fre nacion, by a general counſayle had emonges them, yealded them ſelues, of whom there was not eny thinge demaunded, ſauinge only victuales The. v. day he came vnto a riuer which the coũtrey mẽ cal Arabon beyond the which there laie a barein countrey greatly deſtitute of water, through ẏ which he paſſed, and entered emõges the Horitans. There he betoke the greater parte of his armye to Epheſtion, & parted his ſouldiers that were light armed with Ptolomeus & Leonatus, and ſo waſted ẏ coũtrey wͭ thre armies at once, & toke great praies. Ptolomeus burned towardes the Sea, Leonatus vpon the other hand, and Alexander hym ſelfe in the middes. In that conntrey he builded alſo a cytie, and brought men out of Arrachoſia to inhabite it. From thence he came emonges the Indians, whyche lieng vpon the Sea coaſt, do inhabite a great coũtrey, that is waſte and deſert. Thei vſe no trafficke, entercourſe, nor cõuerſaciõ with eny of their neighboures, but ẏ deſertnes of their countrey haue made them ſauage, being wild of their own nature. They ware long nailes which thei neuer cut, and long heere that was neuer clipped. Thei made their howſes of the ſhelles of fiſhes, and of othere thinges that the Sea caſte vp. And being clad wyth the ſkynnes of wilde beaſtes, eate fiſhe dryed wyth the Sunne, & fedde vpõ ſuch mõſterous fiſhes as ẏ Sea caſt vpon the land. Here the Macedons conſumed their vituales & firſt endured ſcarſcitie, & afterwards extreame

Arabytans.
Gedroſians.

Alexander & nod extorted of those nations that yelded unto hym.

Arabon.

horitans

The indyans wore longe heare, and our englysh men do now.

The famine that fell amonges the Macedons.

extreame honger, ſearching out in euerye place the rootes of palmes, which is yͤ only tre that groweth in that countrey. But whẽ that kind of nouriſhement fayled them, they killed their cariage beaſtes, and abſteined not from their horſes: wherebi lackyng beaſtes to beare their baggage, thei were enforced to conſume with fier, the ſpoyles of their enemyes, whyche hadde cauſed them to trauayle into the vttermoſte boundes of the Orient. After their famine folowed a peſtilence, for the vnaccuſtomed nouriſhmente of the vnholſome meates thei did eate with the trauaile of their Iorney, and the care of mynd, ſpread diſeaſes emonges them, in ſuch ſort that they could neither continue in a place, nor yet go forwardes wythout greate deſtruction. Honger oppreſſed them when they taried, and the peſtilence was more vehement euer as they went forwardes. The fildes therefore were ſtrowen ful of mẽ that were halfe dead and half aliue. And ſuch as were but ſmally ſicke, were not hable to folowe tharmye, it marched wyth ſuch ſpeade: For euerye mã thought to further ſo much hys owne ſaueguard, as by makynge haſt he could get before his felowes. Such as fainted and could not folowe, deſired both ſuch as they knewe and knewe not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beaſtes wherupõ to ſet them, and the ſouldiers could ſcarſly beare their owne armoure, which had the imminent myſchiefe that fell vpon other men, repreſented before their owne eies. Wherfore whẽ thei were often called vpon, they woulde not vouchſafe once to loke backe, feare had ſo taken away al compaſſion frõ thẽ. Then thei which were lefte behind cried vpon the goddes and their king for helpe, alledgyng that they were all of one religion, which was a bande for one to relyeue another. But when they hadde cried long in

Of all other 2 thinges, famine is the greatest.

Imminent,

Note

vayne vnto their deaf eares through deſperacion they raged, wiſſhing the lyke end to ther frendes and cõpanions, that they thẽ ſelfes endurid. The king troubled both with ſorowe & wͭ ſhame, did write to Phrataphernes ruler of the Parthenians to ſend to him vpon Camelles, vittualles in redines to be eaten, and certifyed the princes of the countreis therabout of hys neceſſitye, which did not ſlack the tyme, but made prouiſion according to hys wyll. Thus hys army delyuered only from famyne was brought wythin the boundes of the Godroſyans. And foraſmuch as yͤ ſame was a countrey fertill of all thinges, he thought good to ſtay there awhyle, wyth reſte to recouer agayne hys feble ſouldiers Ther he receyued letters from Leonatus how he had wonne the victorye of the Horitans, which encountred him with .viii.M. fotemen & .v..c. horſemen, and was aduertiſed alſo from Craterus howe he had taken and put in holde Ozynes and zariaſpes noble men of Perce that went about to rebel. Alexander alſo vnderſtandyng that Memnon was deade, gaue the charg of the countrey wherof he had the rule vnto Siburcius, and afterwardes went into Carmania. Aſtaſpes was gouernour of that nacion, who being ſuſpected of innouacion whiles Alexander was in India, mett hym on hys waye. But he diſſimulyng his Ire entertained hym gentlie, & did to hym his accuſtumed honour, tyl ſuch time as he had better prouſe of the mattier which was layed agaynſt him. When yͤ princes of India had according to hys apointmente, ſent out of al cōutreis vnder his Impire great plenty of horſe & other beaſtes, both of cariage & of draughte he gaue cariage againe to all men yͭ wanted, & reſtored ther armour to yͤ former beutifulnes, & excellency.

Godroſyans

Ozynes.
zariaſpes.

Syburcius.
Carmania.
Aſtaſpes.

For they were come into a countrey ioyning vpon Perce, whych bothe was habboundant of all thynges, and alſo quietly eſtabliſhed vnder his ſubiection. He thought it then a time to counterfieyt Bacchus in the glorye and fame, whiche he gotte emonges thoſe nacions. Whither it were a triumphe ẏ Bacchus firſt inſtituted, or a paſtime of him vſed in dronkennes: Alexander was determyned to counterfieyt hys doinges, hauynge hys mynde puffed vp aboue mãnes eſtate. He commaunded therefore all the villagies, throught the whych he ſhould paſſe to be ſtrowne wyth flowers and garlandes, and wyne to be ſett fourth before euery mans dore for all men that would drynke. He cauſed Wagons alſo to be made of largenes hable to carye great nombers, & decking theſame with precious furnimentes, the king went formeſte wyth hys frendes, and next to them his guarde wearing vpõ ther heades garlandes of flowers, ſome plaiyng vpon flutys and ſome vpon harpes, Euerye one generallye throughe tharmy decked his Chariot according to hys habilitye and ſubſtaunce, where as they geuen to banketting, did hang ther riche armour beſides them. Alexander wyth ſuch as he called to his companye, was caried in a Chariot laden wyth Cuppes of gold and other goldẽ veſſel, he with his dronken armye, marched thus. vii. dayes togither in oſtentacion of the praye they hadde gotten. Wherein they ſhewed ſuche diſſolutenes. that if one. M. of ẏ ſubdued people, durſt during that tyme haue geuen them the onſet, they might haue takẽ thẽ priſoners & led thẽ away in triumphe. But fortune whyche hath apoynted bothe fame and eſtymacion to thynges, turned all this diſordre vnto his glorye. For

The tryumphe that Alexander made in hys retorne one of Inde.

both

bothe the age that was then, & the poſteritie that came after, merueiled and toke it for a wonder, that he durſt go ſo diſſolutely emonges thoſe nacions, not yet eſtabliſſhed vnder hys Impire, the barbarous people reputing hys raſhenes, for an aſſured confidence. But ſheding of bloud enſued after thys tryumphe. For prince Aſpaſtes ſpoken of before) was commaunded to be put to deathe: ſo that hys exceſſe in voluptuouſnes was no let vnto hys crueltye nor crueltye impediment to hys voluptuouſnes.

(∴)

Voluptuosnes
is a prouoker of
crueltie, & crueltie
is no impediment
vnto voluptuousnesse.

¶ The tenth boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Macedon.

(.·.)

About the ſame tyme, Cleandre, Scytalces Agathon, & Eracion, which by the Kynges appoyntment had put Parmenio to deathe, returned to hym bringyng wyth them .v. thouſand fotemen, and a thouſand horſemen. There were many accuſers that folowed them out of the prouince whereof they had the gouernaunce. Whoſe behauour there was ſuch that the acceptable ſeruice thei had done to Alexander in killing of Parmenio coulde be no ſatiſfaction for the multitude of the offence thei had committed. They vſed ſuch an vniuerſall ſpoyle not abſteyning from the Temples, nor from ſacred thynges. The virgins alſo and greate Ladies of the countrey whom they had rauiſhed, complayned of thē lamentyng the ſhame they had ſuſteined. They vſed ſuche couetouſnes and inordinate luſt in their aucthoritye, that it cauſed the name of the Macedons to be hated emonges thoſe nacions. And yet emonges al the reſte Cleanders offence was moſte horrible, which rauiſhing a virgyn of noble bloude, gaue hyr to hys ſlaue to vſe as his concubine. The more part of Alexanders frendes were not ſo much offended wyth their crueltye and fowle actes (whereof they were accuſed,) as wyth the remembraunce of Permenios deathe, whiche they kept in ſilence leſte the reherſall thereof myght haue procured them fauour wyth the kynge:

reioyſing

Oft tymes they
that be in auc=
thoritie, are verie
couetous, & of ye
inordinate luste,
thinkinge all ye
thinge lawfull
whiche they doe.

Note.

Neither power
nor Authoritie,
that is goten by
euell meanes can
longe continue.

reioyſing that the kynges wrath, was fallen vpon the miniſters of his Ire, and that no powre nor auctorytye gotten by euill meanes, could haue eny longe contynuance. Alexander hearing the cauſe, ſayed that thaccuſers ouerſlipt ẏ greateſt offẽce, which was ẏ diſpaire of his ſaueguard. For if they hadde eyther hoped or beleued that he ſhoulde euer haue returned out of India, they durſte neuer (he ſayd) haue cõmitted eny ſuch offences. He commaunded therefore them to pryſon and put. vi. . C. ſouldiours to death, that had bene the myniſters of their crueltye, & they alſo were executed ẏ ſame day, which Craterus had brought as auctours of the rebellion out of Perce. Wythin a while after Nearchus and Oneſicritus which had ben cõmaũded by the king to ſearch the Ocean Sea, returned vnto him declaring ſome thinges by knowledge &, ſome by reporte. Thei ſhewed of an Iland not farre from the mouth of Indus whiche habounded with gould, & had no breed of horſes emonges them, wherefore the inhabitours would giue a talent of goulde for euery horſe brought from the mayne land. They alſo told of great mõſterous fiſhes (wherof thoſe Seas were ful) which caried downe with the tide, would ſhewe their bodies aboue the water, as bigge as a great ſhip, and folowe their nauy with a terrible noiſe. And when thei diued vndernethe the water, they troubled the Seas as it hadde bene in a ſhypwracke. Theſe were thynges they had ſene, the reſt they had receyued by reporte of thinhabiters: as howe that the redde Sea toke hys name of kyng Erithreus, and not of the coulour of the water. They ſhewed alſo of an other Iland not farre from the mayne lande growyng full of palme trees, wher was a great wood, & in the middes thereof ſtode a piller where as kinge Erithreus was buried, wyth inſcripcion

A notable Iuſtice.

Dynede.

UMI

ſcripciõ of ſuch letters as be vſed in yͤ countrey. Thei added beſides yͭ ſuch mariners as caried yͤ marchantes & the drudges of tharmie, through couetouſnes of the gold which had bene reported vnto them, lãded in yͤ Iland, and were neuer ſene after. Their wordes moued Alexander much, and put in hym a great deſire, to get more certayne knowledge of thoſe partyes, & therfore he cõmaunded them againe to the Sea, willing yͭ they ſhould coaſt the land, tyl they come wͭin yͤ riuer of Euphrates, & frõ thence to come vp to Babilõ againſt the ſtreame. The thinges were infinite yͭ he compaſſed in his heade. For he determined after he had brought the Sea coaſt of yͤ Orient vnder his ſubiection, to go out of Siria into Affrick, for the enuie he bare to the Carthagens, purpoſed from thence to paſſe ouer the deſertes of Numidia towardes Gades, where he vnderſtod by the fame that Hercules had plãted his pillers, and ſo dyrecting his iourney through Spaine (the which yͤ Greakes of the riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer yͤ Alpes & ſo into Italie, tyll he ſhould come to the coaſt where the next paſſage was vnto Epyrus. For this intent he gaue commaundement to his officers in Meſopotamia, that thei ſhoulde cutt downe tymber in the mount Lybanus, and conuey the ſame to Tapſagas a Cytye in Syria. And there to make galeis of ſuche greatnes, that euerye one of them myghte be hable to carye. vii. Ores vpon a banke, and from thence he wylled them to be conueyed vnto Babylone. He ſent commaundemente to the Kynges of Cypres, to furniſhe them of Iren hempe. and ſayles. Whyles thyeſe thinges were in doing he receyued letteres frõ Porus and Taxiles, ſignifieng that Abyaſares was deade of a diſeaſe, and that Phelix hys lieutenaunte in thoſe parties was ſlayne, and they put to death that

Incripſion

The enterpriſes that Alexander determined.

were

Endemon.

Paſargadas

Orſines.

pedigree

were. the doers therof. Alexāder therefore in the place of Phelix appointed Endemon that was captain of the Thracians, and gaue Abyaſares kyngdome vnto his ſonne. From thence he came to paſargades a countrey of the Percians, whereof Orſynes was Lorde, whyche both in nobilytie and ryches, exceded al other men in thoſe parties. as one that conueyed hys pedigre from Cirus that ſometime was Kynge of Perce. The riches his predeceſſours left him was great, and he by a long cōtinuaūce in his enheritaunce and auctorytie, had much encreaſed the ſame. He mette Alexāder comming thitherwardes, and preſentyd bothe him and his frendes with giftes of ſondrey ſortes: whiche were a multitude of horſes readye to be ridden vpon, Chariotes wrought wyth golde and ſiluer, precious ſtuffe, excellent pearles & precious ſtones, weighty veſſel of gold, robes of purple, and .iiii. thouſand talentes of coyned ſiluer. But that his liberalitie was occaſiō of hys death. For when he had preſented al the kinges frendes wyth giftes aboue their deſire, he honoured not wyth enye gyftes at all Bagoas the Enuke, whō Alexander ſpecially fauored for ẏ vſage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him admonicion how much Alexāder eſteamed Bagoas. But he aunſwered them: that hys cuſtome was to honoure the kynges frendes and no harlottes. Nor that it was not the Percians maner to haue eny in eſtimacion, which did effeminate them ſelues wyth ſo ſhamefull an abuſe.

Bagoas their Enuk.

When hys wordes were reported to the Enuke, he vſed the powre whyche he had gotten wyth diſhoneſt meanes, to the diſtruction of that noble and innocent mā. For he did ſubornate certeyn lewd perſones of Orcynes countrey, to bryng in falſe accuſacions a-

Is at eny tyme
the wicked get
in fauour, thei
vse theire power,
to the destruction
of the innocent.

ſubornate.

agaynſte

gaynſte him, whiche he willed them to preſent at ſuche tyme as he ſhould appointe vnto them. In the meane ſeaſon whenſoeuer Bagoas gotte the Kyng alone, he would fill his credulous eares with tales againſt Orſynes, euer diſſimulyng the cauſe of his diſpleaſure, leſt therby he myght loſe the credite of his falſe report. The king had not Orſynes yet in ſuſpect of ſuch matter as afterwardes was laide agaynſte him but began to growe wyth him out of eſtimation. Hys accuſacion was euer ſo ſecrete, that he coulde neuer get knowlege of ŷ peril that was priuely wrought agaynſt him. That importunate harlot in his vile conuerſation had with the kyng, was myndfull euer of the malice he bare to Orſynes, whom he woulde not ceaſe to bryng in ſuſpicion of couetouſnes and of rebellion, ſo ofte as he ſawe Alexāder beare it him familierly. By that tyme the falſe accuſations were in readines, which he had prepared to the deſtruction of the innocente: whoſe fatall deſteny ŷ did approch could not be auoyded. It chaunſed that Alexāder cauſed the tombe wherin Cyrus his body was buried to be opened, pretendyng to vſe certayne ceremonies for the dead. But thinkyng in very dede that this Tombe had bene full of golde and ſyluer, wherof there was a conſtant fame emonges the Perſians. But when it was viewed, there was nothynge found, but a rotten target, two Scythian bowes and a ſworde. Alexander therfore cauſed the coffyn wherin Cyrus body was layed, to be couered with the garmente he accuſtomed to weare, and ſette therupon a crowne of golde, marueylyng that there was no more ſumptuouſnes vſed in buryal of ſuche a Kyng, endued with ſo great riches lying there, but after the common ſorte of men. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas

Importunate

The wicked are
euer falsly to
accuse the in-
nocent, as [illegible]
[illegible]

Cyrus tōbe
was opened
by Alexāder.

pretendinge

A rotten target, twoo
Scythian bowes,
& a swoorde,
were founde in
the tombe of
Cyrus kinge
of [illegible].

What an oc-
caſion Ba-
goas toke
to accuſe
Orſynes.

ſtode next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face and ſayd: what maruaile is it though the ſepulchres of kinges be emptye, when Lordes houſes be not able to receyue the golde they haue taken out from thence. For my part I neuer ſaw this tombe before, but I haue heard Darius report, that there were .iii. M. talentes buried with Cyrus. Therof (qd he) proceaded Orcines liberalitie in winnyng your fauoure by the gift of the thing, which he knew he could not kepe. When he had thus ſtirred vp Alexanders wrathe agaynſt Orcynes, he preſẽted them whom he had ſuborned to accuſe him. By whoſe report and by Bagoas ſurmiſed tales, Alexander was ſo encenſed agaynſte Orcynes, that he was put in pryſon, before he could ſuſpecte that he was accuſed. The Eunuke was not contented with the deſtruction of this innocent man, but at his death layed violent handes vpon him. Vnto whom Orcines ſayde: I haue heard that women in times paſt haue reigned and borne great rule in Aſia, but it is now a more ſtraunge thinge, that a geldyng ſhoulde haue the empire in hys handes. This was the ende of the moſte noble man emonges the Perſians, who was not onelye an innocent in this matter, but ſuche one as bare ſinguler affection vnto Alexander, and had ſhewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the ſame time Phradates which was ſuſpected to haue gone aboute to make him ſelfe king, was put to death. Alexãder began thẽ to be much enclined to the ſheadyng of bloude, & to be credulous in hearyng of euil reportes: proſperitie is of ſuch a force to chaunge a mannes nature, wherin fewe men haue conſideration of vertue. Thus he whiche a little before woulde not condempne Lynceſtes Alexander when he was accuſed by two witneſſes, that ſuffred diuers of more meane eſtate to be acquited, though it grudged

Suborned.
ſurmiſed.
enſenced.

The [illegible] of the wicked, is cauſe of the deth of the innocent, and often [illegible].

Alexander began to be enclined to the ſhedyng of bloude.

When princes ar credulous of euell reporte, then they ar redye to ſhedd bloud.

They that are in proſperitie, haue litle conſideracion of vertue.

gey his mynde, becauſe they ſemed not gyltye to other menne. And he whyche beſtowed kyngdomes vpon his enemies whom he hadde ſubdued: was in the ende ſo muche altered from his former enclination, that agaynſte his owne appetite, at the wyll of an harlote, he woulde geue kyngdomes to ſome, and take awaye the lyues from other. About the ſame tyme he receiued letters of thinges done in Europe, wherby he vnderſtode that whiles he was in India, zophirus hys lieutenaũt in Thrace, he made a iourney agaynſt the Getes, where by ſtormes and tempeſtes that ſodainely roſe vpõ him, he was deſtroyed and all his armye. When Seuthes vnderſtode the defeate of that armye, he procured the Odriſians that were his countrey men to reuolte. So that all Thrace was in maner loſte therby, and Greace ſtode in no great ſuretye.

Note.

The Getes

Seuthes.

The writers of the actes of great Alexander make mẽcion in this place of Calanus an Indian that was very famous in Philoſophye, which by the perſuaſion of kyng Taxilis folowed Alexander, & ended hys lyfe after a ſtraung ſorte. When he had liued, lxxiii. yeares wythout eny diſeaſe, at hys commyng into Percia, he felt a payne in his bealye, wherby coniecturynge that the ende of his lyfe was come, leaſt ſuche a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, ſhoulde be ſpotted wyth eny long diſeaſe, or tormented wyth the multitude of medicines which phiſiciãs vſe to miniſter, requyred Alexander that he myghte cauſe a fyre to be made, and to burne hym ſelfe in the ſame. The kyng began to diſſuade him from his purpoſe, thinkyng to haue brought him from the doyng of ſo horrible an acte, but when he perceiued wyth what ſtedfaſtnes and cõſtancy he ſtode in his entent, and that there was no waye to kepe him

Calanus.

Note.

[illegible] he caused a fyre to be made accordyng to his wil, whereunto Calanus did ryde on horsebacke, makyng first his prayer to the goddes of his countreye, and takyng the Macedons by the handes, required them that they would spende that daye pleasauntly in banquetyng with their kyng, whom within a while he shoulde see at Babylon. When he had spoken those wordes, he went merelye into the fire, where as plyyng his body comely, kept stil the same gesture & coũtenaũce at his death, which he was wont to vse. When the fyre flamed the trumpettes blewe, the menne of warre making such a shoute as they accustomed goyng to ẏ battaile, which rebounded vp to the skye, & the Elephãtes also made a terrible noyse. These be the thinges that sage writers do testifie of Calanus, whiche was a notable ensample of an inuincible mynde, cõstantly bent to suffer eny aduersitie. From thence Alexander went vnto Susa, whereas he toke to wife & lawfully maried Statyra Darius eldest doughter. Whose yonger sister called Drypetis he gaue to wife vnto Ephestion. And bestowed to the nũbre of .lxxx. virgins of the noblest of all the nacions he had conquered, to the principal Macedons, & to the chiefest of his frendes, bicause he would not seme alone to begyn so straunge a custome. These mariages were celebrate after the Percian maner, & a princely feast prepared at the espousailes. Wherat there were .ix. M. geastes, to euerye one of whom Alexander gaue a drinkyng cuppe of golde. At the same tyme the rulers of the cityes which Alexander had subdued and builded, sent vnto him .xxx. M. yong souldiers ẏ were all of one age, furnished with same armoure, apt to do eny enterprice of the warre, whiche he called Epigoni, that is to saye his successours. The Macedõs at theyr cõmyng, semed to be somewhat appaled, which weried

Alexander maried Satyra Darius doughter.
Drypetis.

with long warre, vſed often in aſſembles to murmure ⁊ ſpeake mutinous wordes againſt the king. For that cauſe he had prepared theſe ſouldiours to reſtreine the arrogancy of other, and gaue to them great benefites. Harpalus to whom the king had committed the charge of the treaſure and reuenewes at Babilon, hearyng of the actes that Alexander hadde done in ſubduinge the more parte of the kinges of India, and his ſucceſſe to be ſo proſperous that nothing coulde withſtande him. Knowing the inſaciable deſire that was in Alexander to viſite farre countreyes, and to encreaſe his glorye, thought it ſhould be a harde matter for him to returne to Babilon againe. Wherfore he gaue him ſelfe to delite and to luſte, miſuſyng manye that were noble and free women, walowed in all kynde of voluptuouſnes. Inſomuch that he ſent vnto Athens for a famous harlot called Patonice, to whom he both gaue many great and princely giftes while ſhe was aliue, and alſo after her death ſpent .xxx. talentes vpon her tombe. Hauing in theſe ⁊ ſuche other like voluptuous vanities conſumed a great part of the treaſure. When he vnderſtode Alexāder to be come out of India, ⁊ to vſe extreme iuſtice vpon his officers that miſuſed them, of whō they had rule, by reaſon he was priuy to his owne fowle cōſcience, fearing the like might come to him ſelfe. And therfore gathering together .v.M. talentes. ⁊ .vi.M. mercenary ſouldiers, toke ẏ way towardes Athens, no man willing to receiue him by the way. When he came to Tenaron (where as a great nūbre of the mercenary Greakes, which had bene diſcharged out of Aſia were aſſembled) he left his ſouldiers there, ⁊ went to Athens with his money: whē he was come thether, great numbre of the citiezens flocked about him, more for loue of his money thē for his owne ſake, but ſpecially the Orators,

Mutinous

Harpalus.

Renenewes

Insatiable

~~[illegible]~~ 2

wallowed in all sorte of [illegible].

Patonice.

Tenaron.

tours,

Sunium.

Territorie

The death of Harpalus.

tours, & ſuch as vſed to make their gaine by oracions, and perſuadyng of the people, whõ by ſmall rewardes he eaſely corrupted, to defẽde his cauſe with the people But afterwardes at a generall aſſemble vpõ the matter, he was cõmaunded to depart the citie, and ſo returned againe emonges the Greake ſouldiers, by whõ he was ſlayne. Therfore with .xxx. ſhips they paſſed ouer to Sunium, which is a poynt of the lande in the territorye of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens hauẽ. Theſe thinges being knowen, Alexander that was ſore moued aſwell againſt the Athenians as againſte Harpalus, prepared a nauye to make warre in perſone immediatly againſt them. And as he was buſied aboute the matter, he vnderſtode by ſecrete letters, howe bothe Harpalus hadde bene in Athens and corrupted with money the chiefe of the citye. And alſo howe that afterwardes by a counſaile of the people, he was commaunded to depart from thence, who returnyng emonges the Greake ſouldiours, was ſlayne by one of them by treaſon. Theſe newes greatly reioyſed Alexander, wherby he had occaſion to leaue of his iourney into Europe, but he ſente commaundement to all the cities of Greace, that thei ſhould receiue againe all their baniſhed men, except ſuch onely as had committed enye murther vpon their owne countrey men. Although the Greakes knewe the ſame to be the breach of their liberties & their lawes, & the beginnyng of their bondage, yet as men that durſte not diſobey his will, they called home their baniſhed men, & reſtored to thẽ ſuch of their goodes as did remaine. Onely the Athenians, which euer defẽded obſtinatly the liberties of their cõmen wealth, & which had not ben accuſtomed to liue vnder yͤ obediẽce of eni king, but vnder yͤ lawes & cuſtomes of their cõtrey: wold not agre, yͭ ſuch dredge of men ſhould lyue emonges them, but did driue them out of their boũdes: redy to ſuffre eny thing, rather thẽ to receiue ſuch, as ſometime were the raſcal of al their citie, and then the refuſe of al the outlawes. The tyme was come that Alexander minded to diſmyſſe hys old ſouldiers, & ſende them into their countrey, but he willed firſt .xiii. M. fotemẽ & .ii. M horſemẽ to be choſen out to remaine ſtill in Aſia, which he iudged might be kept wyth a ſmal army, becauſe (he thought) ỹ guarriſons he had plãted in many places, & the cities which he had newly builded & filled with inhabiters ſhould be hable to ſtay ſuch as would attẽpt eny rebellion. But before he would make eny deuiſion of ſuch as ſhoulde depart, & remaine, he cauſed a proclamaciõ to be made ỹ al ſouldiers ſhold declare their debtes (wherwith he perceiued mani of them ſore burdened) & though their debte did riſe through their owne diſorder & exceſſe, yet he was determined to diſcharge euery man. But the ſouldiers thinking it had bene but a deuice, to try out the prodigal frõ the reſt, delaied the time, & brought not in their declaraciõs. The king perceiued ſhame to be the let therof, & no diſobediẽce or ſelf wil. And therfore cauſed tables to be ſet vp throughout his cãpe, & .x. M talentes to be brought furth. Of all whyche treaſure when their debtes were payd accordyng to the iuſt declaracion, there remained of talẽtes no more but .cxxx. Wherby it appeared that they whiche were the cõquerours of ſo many riche nacions, brought out of Aſia more glory then ſpoyle. But after it was ones knowen that ſome ſhould be deſpatched, and ſome remaine ſtil. they thought the kynge woulde haue eſtablyſhed hys kingdome perpetually in Aſia. Wherefore like madde men, and vnmyndful of al diſciplyne of warre, thei fylled the campe ful of ſedicious wordes, and came to the

Alexander paied al his ſouldiours debtes.

130. Talente.

A mutine e monges th ſouldiers.

Arrogantlie

Alexanders wordes vnto his ſouldiours.

kyng more arrogantly, and with greater rigoure then euer they did before: all with one voyce, requiring to be diſcharged, ſhewyng forthe the horenes of their heere, and their faces diſfourmed wͭ ſcarres. And herein they coulde not be ſtayed, either by chaſtiſment of their officers, or by enye reuerence of their kynge, but when he would haue ſpoken vnto them, they woulde not ſuffer him to be hearde, but diſturbed his tale with their tumultuous crye, & violent throng: proteſtyng opẽly that they woulde neuer moue one foote forwardes to enye place, excepte it were towardes their owne countrey. After a great ſpace becauſe they thought that Alexan- woulde encline to their purpoſe, they kept ſilence, and ſtode in expectation what he would do. Then Alexãder ander ſpake vnto thẽ (what meaneth this ſodaine trouble of minde, this ſo malypart and vnlawfull libertye? I am afraied to ſpeake vnto you, you haue ſo manifeſtly broken your obedience towardes me. I am nowe become a king at the appoyntmẽt of my people, you haue neither lefte me the libertye to knowe you, to exhorte you, nor to behold you. Being determined to ſend ſome into their coũtrey before, & to bring the reſt wͭ me ſhortly after. I ſee them as well that ſhalbe now diſpatched criyng and mutinyng, as thoſe that I appoynt to come with me. What a matter is this? Their crye is al a like, notwithſtandyng that their cauſe is diuers. I woulde fayne knowe whether they complayne that departe, or they that tary ſtyl? When he had ſpoken thoſe wordes, they cryed all as it had bene wyth one mouth, that they complayned euery man. Then he ſaid: truly it can not be ſo, nor I can not be perſwaded that you ſhould al be greued for the cauſe ye declare, ſeyng the caſe toucheth not the moſte parte of you; for I haue appointed more

th

to depart then to remaine ſtil. There muſt neades be ſome greater miſchiefe thē appeareth, that ſhold turne you al from me. When was it euer ſeene, that an whole army hath forſaken their king. The ſlaues runne not from their maiſters all at once: but there is alwayes a ſhame in ſome to leaue them, whom the reſt forſakes. But why do I forget that you be mad in your mindes? or why go I about to cure you that be vncurable? I cōdempne from henceforth al the good hope that euer I conceiued of you, & am determined to worke no more wyth you, as wt my ſouldiers (ſeyng ye wil not be mine, but with men vngrateful and vnmindful of my goodnes. The cauſe of this your madnes, is euen the abondaunce of your proſperitie, wherby you forget your old eſtate, from the which ye be deliuered through my benefite. You are men worthy to haue ſpent youre lyues in your former beggery, ſeing you cā better beare aduerſitie, thē proſperous fortune. Behold, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illirians, & the Percians, do now diſdaine Aſia, & the ſpoiles of ſo many naciōs. You which vnder Philip went haulfe naked, now ye contempne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure eny lenger to beholde the ſight of golde & ſiluer. You deſire againe youre wodden dyſhes, youre targettes made of wickers, and your ſwordes couered with ruſt. I receiued you in thys ſimple eſtate, with .v. C. talentes in debte, when al my furnimentes exceaded not in valure .lx. talentes. Thys was the foundacion of my actes, where wyth (wythout enuye be it ſpoken) I haue ſubdued the greateſt parte of the world. Are you weary of Aſia, whyche haue miniſtred vnto you occaſion of ſuch glory, that by the greatnes of youre actes, ye be made equal vnto the goddes? do you al make ſuch haſt into Europe, to forſake me yͭ am your king? The more part of you ſhoulde haue lacked money to beare youre charges ther, if I of my beneuolence hadde not paide your debtes? Are you not aſhamed that haue robbed al Aſia, to beare the ſpoiles of ſo many nacions wͭin your belies, and now to returne home to youre wiues & children, unto whom there be but few of you that are able to ſhewe eny rewardes of your victory. For manye of you ſhalbe cõpelled to gage your armour. if ye forſake thys good hope, ye myght receiue at my handes. Theſe be the good men of warre yͭ I ſhal want, whiche of all their riches haue nothyng left them, but only their cõcubines. The way lieth open for your depatture, get you hence quickly out of my ſight. I with the Perciãs ſhal defende your backes when ye be gone. I wil hold none of you, deliuer mine eyes ye vngrateful countremẽ, of the ſight I ſe of you, Shal your parentes & childrẽ receiue you with ioye, when they ſhal ſe you returne wͭout your king? Shal they couet to mete ſuch as be fugitiues, & forſakers of their prince? I truly ſhal triũphe vpon your departure, & wherſoeuer you ſhal be, I ſhal deſire to be reuenged, honoring alwayes & preferryng before you, thoſe whiche ye haue lefte here with me. Nowe you ſhal knowe of what force an armye is yͭ lacketh a kyng, & what moment doth conſiſt in me alone. When he had ſpoken thoſe wordes he leaped in a fury frõ the iugement ſeate, and ranne into the thronge of the armed mẽ, whereas he toke with his owne handes ſuch as had mutined moſte agaynſte hym. Of whome there being none yͭ durſt make reſiſtaunce, he deliuered xiii. to hys garde for to be ſafelye kepte. Who woulde thinke that an aſſemble whiche a little before had ſpo-

Gage

ken vnto their prince with ſuch fierſenes and rigour, could haue bene ſo ſodenly appalled for feare: Whyche ſeing their cōpanions led to executiō, durſt not moue, nor make eny attempt. But the inordinat libertie they vſed before, & their ſedicious violence was then ſo ſtaied, ẏ neuer one of thē durſt reſiſt the kynge running emonges them, but were al aſtoined for feare, and ſtode like men amaſed, with doubtful imaginacions lokyng what he would determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to hys name, becauſe the naciōs that liue vnder kinges, are wont to honour thē as goddes, or were it the maieſtie of his perſone, or els his owne aſſured conſtācy executing his auctoritie with ſuch violence, that put them in feare: thei ſhewed a notable enſample of paciēce. For they remained not only, without ſturre or mocion at the execution of their companions, (whome they knewe to be put to death in the night time), but alſo were more diligent in doynge their duties then euer they were before: pretermittyng nothing partaining to obedience, and natural affectiō towardes their prince. For the next day whē thei came to ẏ court, and were not ſuffered to enter, but al ſhute out ſauynge the ſouldiers of Aſia, they made a ſorowful crye and lamentacion whyche ſpreade ouer all the campe, proteſting that they would not liue, if the kyng continued ſtill in his wrath. But he that was obſtinate in al thynges that he had once conceiued in his heade, commaunded al the Macedons to kepe ſtil their cāpe, and aſſembled the ſouldiers ſtraungers together to whom by an Interpretour he made thys Oracion. At ſuch tyme as I came firſt out of Europe into Aſia, my truſt was to brynge manye noble nacions, and greate power of men, vnder myne Empire and dominion

Pretermittinge

Alexanders Oracion to the ſtrāge ſoudiers.

wherin

Incomperable.

wherin I was not deceiued. For beſides that the ſame reported you to bee men of valure, I haue founde in you one thinge more: which is an incomperable obedience, fidelitye, and affection towardes your prince. I thoughte voluptuouſnes had ouerflowen all vertue emonges you, & that through your great felicite, ye had bene drowned in pleaſures. But I find it otherwyſe, and perceyue that none obſerue the diſciplyne and order of the warres better then you do, nor execute the ſame wyth more actiuitie nor ſtoutnes. And beynge manfull and valiaunt menne, ye embrace fidelitie, no leſſe then you do the reſt. This thinge I do but nowe acknowledge, but I knewe it long a go. Whiche was the cauſe that I choſe you out of the youth of your nacions to be my ſouldiours, and did incorporate you emonges myne owne people, cauſinge you to vſe the ſame habite, and the ſame armoure. But youre obedience and pacience towardes the authoritie, appeareth muche better in you then in them. Therefore I haue ioyned to my ſelfe in mariage the doughter of Oratres that it a Percian, not diſdayning to beget children vpon a captiue. And afterwardes deſiring more aboundauntlye to encreaſe the iſſue of my bodye, I toke to wyfe the daughter of Darius, and was the authoure that my neare frendes likewyſe ſhoulde beget children vpon captyues: myndynge by this holy couenaũt to exclude the difference betwene the victorours and the vaynquiſhed. Wherfore you muſt now thinke that you be not ſouldiours vnto me adopted, but more naturall. And that Aſia and Europe is one kyngdome wythout eny difference. I haue geuen vnto you armoure after the maner of the Macedons. I haue brought all ſtraungnes and noueltie into a cuſtome, and now ye be both my countreymen & my ſouldiours al thinges receyuinge one forme and faſhion. I haue not thought it vnſemely for the Percians to ſhadow ẏ cuſtomes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeit the Percians: ſeinge they ought to be vnder one law & cuſtome that ſhuld liue vnder one king. When he had made this oration, he cōmitted the cuſtody of his perſon vnto the Perſians, he made them of his garde & his officers of iuſtice. By whom when the Macedons, which had geuen occaſion of this ſedicion were led bound vnto execucion, one of them that was more auncient and of greater eſtimacion then the reſt ſpake after thys maner. How longe wil you thus geue place vnto your wil, in executinge vs after the ſtraungers maner? Youre ſouldiours and countreymen be drawen to execucion by their owne priſoners before their cauſe is heard? If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at leaſte wayes chaunge the miniſters of youre wrath. This was a good admoniſhment, if he had bene pacient to heare the trueth. But his wrathe was growen into a wodnes, ſo that when he ſawe them whyche hadde the charge of the priſoners ſtaye a little at ẏ matter, he cauſed the priſoners to be tumbled into the riuer, and there drowned. Notwithſtanding the crueltye of thys puniſhmente, the ſouldiours were not ſturred to eny ſedicion, but repayred by rowtes vnto theyr capitaynes, and vnto ſuche as were neare aboute the kyng: requiryug that if there yet remained eny infected with ẏ ſame offence, that he ſhould cōmaund them to be put to death, profecinge theyr bodies to bee puniſhed and executed at his owne wyl. After it was knowen that Liuetenaunte ſhippes were geuen vnto the Perſians, and that they were diſtributed into diuers

orders

Many innocente are drawen to deathe without the Lawe, their cause beinge unheard, when Tyrante raignes

Crowdes.

orders, with ſuch names geuen vnto thẽ as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiected wyth reproche, they could not then eny lenger conteyne them ſelues, nor ſuffer the dolour they hadde conceyued in their hertes, but wyth a greate thronge preſſed to the courte, wearynge onely their nethermoſt garmentes, and leauyng their weapons wythout the gate in tokẽ of repentaunce. There wyth weapynge and al tokens of humilitie, they made requeſte to be admitted to the kynges preſence, & that he woulde vouchſafe to pardõ their offence, pacifiynge his wrath wyth the death of ſo many as he ſhoulde thinke good, rather then to ſuffer them to liue in ſuch reproch: whiche excepte he woulde releaſe, they proteſted they woulde neuer depart out of the place. When thoſe thynges were declared vnto Alexander, he cauſed the courte gates to be opened, and came forth emonges them. Whereas beholdyng their lamentation and repentaunce, their miſerable behauoure and affliction, he coulde not abſtayne to weape longe tyme wyth them, and in conſideration of their modeſtie, forgaue them their former offences. And after he had temperately tolde them their faultes, and agayne comforted them wyth gentle wordes, he diſcharged many from the ſeruice of the warres and ſẽt thẽ home liberallye rewarded: writinge to Antipater his lieutenaunt in Macedon, that he ſhould aſſigne them the chiefe places in the theaters at triumphes, and open playes, where as they ſhoulde ſit wyth garlandes on their heades, wyllynge that theyr chyldre after their deathes, ſhould enioye theyr fathers wagies.

He appointed Craterus to be their ruler, to whõ in the place of Antipater he had committed the gouernemẽt of Macedon, Theſſalie, and Thrace, ſendinge for Antipater

Solomne.

Alexander was reconſiled to hys ſouldiours.

Temporatlie

vpwarde to repaire vnto him with a ſupplie of yo͞ng ſoldiers. Alexander had receiued letters before both from hym, and Olimpias his mother, wherby diſſencion appeared to be betwixt them. For his mother accuſed Antipater that he wente aboute to make hym ſelfe kyng. And Antipater did write howe Olympias dyd manye thynges otherwyſe then dyd become her. Antipater dyd take his callyng awaye ſo greuouſly in hys heart, that he conſpired therupon to poyſon Alexander: who hauing accomplyſhed the matters that before be mentioned, went to Echatan (beyng in Media) to ſet order in the neceſſarye affaires of hys Empire, and there ordeyned ſolempne triumphes and feaſtynge. It chaunſed Epheſtion whom the kynge ſpecially loued, and vſed in place of a brother, to die aboute the ſame time of a feuer. Whoſe death Alexander toke more ſorowfully then can well be credited, committyng in hys dolour manye thynges that were vnſeamynge for the maieſtye of a Prynce. He commaunded Epheſtions phiſition to be hanged, as though he had dyed throughe his negligence. He laye embracyng of the deade bodye and could hardely be taken awaye by hys frendes but continued hys ſorowe nyght and day. There be many other thinges written in that behalfe, whych be ſcarſely credible. But it is certayne that he commaunded ſacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto a God, and conſumed in his burial and making of his tombe, aboue .xii. M. talentes. As he was returnynge to Babilon, the Caldian Prophetes met him on the waye, exhortynge hym that he ſhoulde not enter into the citye, for that it was ſignified, that if he wente thether at that tyme, he ſhoulde be in greate peryll of hys lyfe. Notwythſtan-

Olimpias Alexanders mother.

The death of Epheſtiō.

vnſeameinge

dyng

Euerie man ſhall dye, where and when, as it is appoynted by god. who haue the keyes therof only in his hande

dyng he regarded not their admoniſhmentes, but went forwardes in his iourney, accordyng as he had appointed. For he vnderſtode that Embaſſadours were come thither from al regions taryinge for his commynge. The terrour of his name was ſo ſpreade throughe the worlde, that all nacions ſhewed an obſequiouſnes towardes hym, as thoughe he had bene appoynted to be their kynge. That cauſed hym to make haſt towardes Babilon, to kepe there as it were a Parliamente of the whole worlde. When he was come thither, he receiued the Embaſſadours gentlie, and afterwardes diſpatched them home againe. There was aboute the ſame tyme a banquet prepared at one Theſſalus Medius houſe, whereunto the kynge beynge bidden, came thyther wyth ſuch as were appoynted to kepe hym company. But he had not ſo ſone droncke of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunte as though he had bene ſtryken to the harte. And beynge caried out of the feaſte halfe deade, was ſo tormented wyth payne, that he required a ſwerde to haue kylled hym ſelfe. Hys frendes dyd publyſh abrode dronckennes to be the cauſe of his diſeaſe, but in verye dede it was prepenſed treaſon, yͤ infamye whereof the power of his ſucceſſours did oppreſſe. The poyſon prepared longe before was deliuered by Antipater vnto Caſſander his ſonne, which wyth hys brethren Philippe and Iolla were wonte to ſerue the kynge at meate. He was warned that he ſhoulde not committe the ſame poyſon to eny perſonne excepte it were to Theſſalus or to hys brethren. Phylyppe therefore and Iollas, whyche were wonte to taſte the faye of the kynges cupp hauynge the poyſon readye in colde water, mixed it wyth the wyne after they had taſted it. When the forth daye was come the ſouldiours

Theſſalus Medius.

house.

Alexander was poyſoned.

grunt.

prepensed.

partly

the ſouldiours, partely for that they ſuſpected he hadde bene dead, and partely becauſe they coulde not endure to wante longe his ſyghte, came ſorowfullye vnto the courte, deſiryng to ſee the Kynge, whyche by his commaundemēt were admitted vnto his preſence by ſuche as had the charge of his perſone.

When they behelde him lyinge in that caſe, they made great ſorowe and lamentation, for he ſemed not to theim to be the ſame their Kyng, whome they were wonte to ſee, but rather a deade corſe. If their griefe were great, the ſorowe of theim that ſtode nexte to the bedde appeared muche more, whome when Alexander behelde lamentynge after that ſorte, he ſaied vnto thē. When I ſhall departe, you ſhall finde a Kyng worthye for ſuche men as you be. It is a thing incredible howe that he durynge the tyme, the ſouldiours of hys whole armye came to viſite him, he neuer altered countenaunce nor geſture, but continued in that kinde of preſence he gaue vnto the firſte, vnto the laſte man. When he had diſmiſſed the multitude, as thoughe he had bene diſcharged of all debte of lyfe, he laye downe agayne to reſt his weake body, & his voyce beginnyng to fayle him, cōmaunded his frendes to come neare about hym. Then takyng his rynge from his finger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue thē with a commaundemente that hys bodye ſhoulde be conueyed to Hammon. They demaunded to whom he would leaue his kyngdome. He ſaied: to the worthieſt. By whiche wordes it appeared that he forſawe the contention that was lyke to enſue vpon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of hym when he woulde haue deuyne honours done vnto him. At ſuch time (quod he) as you ſhal finde your ſelues in felicitie. Theſe were the laſte

Alexander fore-
sawe the conten-
tion, that was
like to ensue upō
his deathe, yet
sought no meanes
to prevent it, but
rather by his
last wordes in-
creased it.

he that the whole
world could not
contayne, ended
his lyfe by the
[illegible] of a
poysned
cupp.

The ſorow that was made vpon Alexanders death.

wisht.
Conuerted.

J. pretermitted

wordes Alexander ſpake, and ſhortely after he dyed. Immediatlye after his deathe, the courte was full of howlynge, lamentynge, and ſorowe makynge, and by and by as it hadde bene in a deſert or a place ſolitarye, all thinges were whiſte, and a ſorowfull ſilence was ſpredde ouer all: euerye manne beyng conuerted into imaginacion what ſhoulde become of the matter. The young menne of the nobilitie that were accuſtomed aboute Alexanders perſone, could not beare the greatnes of their doloure, nor kepe them ſelues within compaſſe of the courte, but ranne aboute as menne out of their wyttes, wherby the citye was filled with heauines and complaynte, and no kinde of lamentation pretermitted, that ſorow is wont to miniſter in ſuch a caſe. Suche therfore as were withoute the Courte, vnderſtandynge this matter, as well Macedons as other, came runnynge thether, where as the conquerours from the conquered, nor the victorers from the vanquiſhed coulde not be diſcerned, the ſorowe was ſo indifferent to thē al. The Perciaus called vpō their iuſt and mercifull Lorde, and the Macedons made inuocation to him that was ſo valeaunte and gracious a kyng. And thus there was a certaine contencion of ſorow emonges thē. Men did not vſe their only wordes of griefe and heauines, but alſo of grudge and indignacion, that ſo young a Prynce beyng in the floure of his age, and of his fortunate ſucceſſe, ſhould by the enuye of the Goddes, be ſo taken out of this worlde. They called to remembraūce what a cherefulnes they had alwayes ſene in his countenaunce, bothe when he led thē to the battayle, when he beſieged or aſſaulted any citye, or when he woulde geue eny cōmendation to the worthye in enye aſſemble. Then the Macedons repented that euer they hadde denied hym deuine honoures, confeſſyng them ſelues bothe wicked and vngratefull for depriuynge hym of enye name wherof he was worthye. And when they had continued long in the veneration and deſire of him that was deade, then they began to pitye their owne caſe, whiche commyng out of Macedon, were paſſed the riuer of Euphrates, emonges the middes of their enemies that vnwillingly receiued their newe gouernement. They ſaw them ſelues left deſtitute, & the empire without eny certaine heire, for want of whom euery one would go about to drawe the power of the ſtate vnto his priuate behofe. And then they began to conceyue and forſee in their mindes the ciuill warres that did enſue, and that they ſhould be enforced to ſhede their bloud againe, not for the conqueſt of Aſia, but for the title of ſome ſuche one that woulde go about to make him ſelfe kyng: wherby their olde ſcarres ſhould breake out againe into newe woundes. And more ouer yͤ ſuch as by reaſon of their age had bene diſcharged from the warres by their noble & righteous kyng, ſhould now be enforced to ſpend their liues in the quarell of ſome ſuch one as was but his ſouldiour. Whiles thei were in theſe imaginaciõs, the night came on, & encreaſed their terrour. The men of warre watched in harneys, & the Babilonians loked ouer the walles, peping out frõ the toppes of their houſes, to ſpye ſome certeintie how yͤ matter went. There was none that durſt kindle eny light. And becauſe the vſe of the eye did faile, they layed their eares to heare the rumours and wordes that were ſpoken. And many times they were afraied whẽ no cauſe was, & when they met together in the narow ſtreetes or darke lanes, they wold be amaſed, & ſuſpect ech other as enemyes.

The Perſians after their accuſtomed maner clypped their heere, and wyth their wyues and chyldren lamented the death of Alexander in mournyng garmentes, with vnfayned affection: not as a cōquerour, and one that latelye had bene their enemye, but as their rightwiſe and naturall kyng. For they beyng accuſtomed to lyue vnder a king, could thinke no man more worthy then he to rule ouer them. Thys ſorowe was not conteyned wythin the walles of the Citye, but ſtreyghtwayes ſpreade ouer all the countrey therabouttes. And the fame of ſo greate a miſchiefe flyinge throughoute Aſia, brought ſone tidynges therof vnto Darius mother. She at the firſte reporte tare a ſunder the garmēt ſhe ware, and put on mourning apparaile, ſhe pulled her heere, and fell downe grouelyng vpō the earth. One of her neces ſate by her mournynge the deathe of Epheſtion whom ſhe hadde maried, and in an vniuerſall heauines, bewayled the cauſe of her priuate ſorowe. But Syſigambis alone ſuſteyned al their miſeries, & bewayled both her owne caſe and her neces: her freſhe ſorowe cauſynge her to call to mynde thinges paſte. A man woulde haue iudged by her behauour that Darius had bene newly ſlayne, and that ſhe had celebrated the funerales of bothe her ſonnes together.

The behauiour of Darius mother vpon the death of Alexander.

She did not onely lament the deade, but ſorowed alſo for the liuyng. Who ſhall nowe (quod ſhe) take care of theſe young women? or who can be like vnto Alexāder? nowe we be taken priſoners agayne, nowe we be newly fallen from our dignitye and eſtate. After Darius death, we founde one to defende vs. But nowe ſence Alexander is gone, who wyll haue reſpecte of vs? Emong theſe thinges ſhe called to minde, how Ochus the cruell kynge had ſlayne her father, and foure ſcore of her brethren in one daye, and that of ſeuen children borne of her bodye, there was but one of theim lefte aliue. She ſawe that fortune had aduaunced Darius and cauſed him to floriſhe for a tyme, to the entente he myght ende his life by greater crueltye. Finallye ſhe was ſo ouercome wyth ſorowe, that ſhe couered her head turning her ſelfe from her neſe and nephew that ſate at her fete, and abſtaynyng both frō meate & from beholdynge of the light, ended hir life the fift day after ſhe was determined to dye. This her death was a greate argument of the clemencye Alexander hadde ſhewed towardes her, and of the iuſtice towardes all the captyues ſeyng that after Darius death ſhe could abyde to liue, but after Alexanders departure, ſhe was aſhamed to continue eny lenger.

A diſcourſe of Alexāders vices and his vertues

Conſiderying Alexander rightwiſlye, we muſt impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vices either to hys youth, or to the greatnes of his fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceadyng ſufferaunce of trauaile. He was endued with manhode, excellinge, not onely emonges kynges: but alſo emonges ſuch as had no other vertue nor qualitye. He was of ſuche liberalitye that oftentymes he gaue greater thinges, then the receyuers could haue wyſhed for of God. The multitud of kyngdomes yͤ he gaue in gift, and reſtored to ſuch from whom he had taken theim by force, was a token of his clemencye towardes them that he ſubdued. He ſhewed a perpetuall contempte of deathe, the feare wherof doth amaſe other men. And as there was in him a greater deſire of glory & worldely prayſe thē reaſō would beare: ſo was it tollerable in ſo young a man, enterpriſyng ſo great and notable actes. The reuerence & affection he bare

Vertues.

towardes his parentes, appeared in the purpoſe he had to conſecrate his mother Olimpias to immortalitye, and in that he ſo ſore reuēgyd Philips death. How gētle and familiar was he towardes his frēdes, and how benyuolent towarde his ſouldiours. He had a wiſedome equall to the greatnes of his harte, and ſuche a polley and forecaſt, as ſo young yeares were ſcarſely able to receiue. A meaſure he had in immoderate pleaſures and luſte, leſſe then nature deſieryd, vſyng no pleaſure but that was lawefull: theſe were wonderful greate giftes and vertues.

Beneuolent

But in that he comparyd him ſelfe to the Gods, couetyng dyuyne honours, and beleued ẏ Oracles that perſwaded ſuch thinges, that he was offendyd wͭ thē that woulde not worſhip him, and geuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient. That he alteryd his habite and apparaile into ẏ faſhiō of ſtraungers, & counterfaited the cuſtome of them he had ſubdeyd, and deſpiſed before his victory: were vices to be attributyd to the greatnes of fortune. As the heate of youthe ſtirred him to anger, and to the deſyre of drinkyng: ſo age might haue mytigated agaynſt thoſe faultes. Notwithſtandyng it muſte nedes be confeſſyd, that though he preuailed muche by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more vnto his fortune, which only of al mortal men, he had in his owne power. Howe oftē did ſhe deliuer him from the poynte of death? Howe often did ſhe defende him wyth perpetual felicitye, when he hadde raſhelye braught him ſelfe in peryll? And when ſhe poynted an ende to his glorye, ſhe euen then was contente to finyſhe his life, ſtaiynge his fatall deſtenye tyll he had ſubdued the Orient, viſited the Ocean Sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortalitie was able to performe. To this ſo greate a kyng, and ſo noble a conquerour:

Vices.

a ſucceſſour was loked for. But the matter was of ouer great importaunce for eny one man to take vpon hym: Alexanders name and renowne was ſo great emonges all nations, and they were counted moſte noble that might be partakers (though it were neuer ſo lytle) of his proſperous fortune.

But to returne agayne to Babilon from whence this degreſſio hath ben made: Thei which had ÿ guard & cuſtodie of Alexanders perſone, called into the court ſuche as had bene his chiefe frendes and captaines of the men of warre: after whõ there folowed a great multitude of ſouldiours, deſieryng to knowe who ſhoulde be ſucceſſoure vnto Alexander. The throng of the ſouldiours was ſuche, that manye of the captaynes were excluded, and coulde not enter into the court. A Proclamation therfore was made wherby all men were forbiden to enter, excepte ſuche as were called by name. But becauſe their commaundemente ſemed to want auchoritie, it was little regarded, & the multitude at the firſt began to make a greuous ſorowe and lamentation. But immediatly the deſire they had to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the matter, ſtopped their lamentacion, and made ſilence. Then Perdicas brought forth in ſight of al the people ÿ kinges chayre of eſtate, wherin Alexanders Diademe, hys veſtures regall and hys armour was layde, emonges the which ornamentes Perdicas alſo layde downe the kynges ſignet, delyuered to hym the day before: at the ſyght wherof they began to wepe, and to renue againe their ſorow. The ſaide Perdicas: Lo here is the ring wherwith he was wont to ſeale ſuch thinges as pertayned to the gouernement of his Empire, which as he deliuered to me, I ſo reſtore it agayne to you. And although no aduerſitye can be deuiſyd by the Goddes (were they

The aſſẽble after the death of Alexander.

Ego Lindal.

Perdicas wordes.

neuer ſo muche offended) comperable to this. Yet cõſideryng ŷ greatnes of the actes which he hath done, we muſte thinke that as the Goddes ſent ſuch a man ſo to raigne in the worlde, his tyme beyng expired that was appointed, thei haue called him again to the place from whence he came. Forſomuche therfore as none other thing remaineth of him emonges vs but only ŷ whyche is alwayes wont to be remoued from immortalitie: let vs perfourme the due pertayninge bothe to hys bodye, and to his name: remembringe in what citie we be, emonges what kynde of people, and what a kynge and gouernour we haue loſte. We muſte debate ⁊ deuiſe howe to mayntayne our conqueſt emonges them of whõ it is gotten: For the doing wherof it is nedefull for vs to haue an heade. But whether the ſame ſhall be one, or manye, it dothe conſiſte in you. You are not ignoraunt that a multitude of mẽ of warre without an heade, is a body without life. Sixe monethes be nowe paſſed ſynce Roxane was conceiued with chylde, we deſire of God that ſhe maye bryng forth a ſonne, whiche maye enioye thys kyngdome, when he cometh to age. In the meane ſeaſon appoynte you, of whome ye wyll be gouerned. When Perdicas hadde ſpoken theſe wordes, Nearchus roſe vp, and ſaied: There is no man can denye but that it were mete for Alexanders ſucceſſion to continue in the bloude royall, but to loke for a kyng that is not yet borne, and to paſſe ouer one that is in his beyng already, is neither expedient for ſuch mẽ as the Macedons be, nor yet dothe ſerue the neceſſitie of the tyme.

Nearchus wordes.

There is a ſonne whiche Alexander begote by Barſines, what ſhould let why the Diademe may not be ſet on his head? Nearchus tale was acceptable to no mã.

Barſines.

Therfore yͤ ſouldiers according to their cuſtome claſhed their ſpeares againſt the targets, & cōtinued makyng of a noyſe. And when he woulde not forſake his opynion, but obſtinately mainteined the ſame, the matter had almoſt bredde a ſedition: which thing perceiued by Ptolomeus, he ſpake after this maner.

Ptolomeus wordes.

Neither the ſonne of Roxane nor Barſines, is an iſſue mete to reigne ouer the Macedones, whoſe names we ſhold be aſhamed to mentyon within Europe, their mothers beinge captiues. Haue we ſubdued the Percians to that ende, to become ſubiect to ſuche as be deſcended of them? That was the thinge which Darius and Xerxes beynge kynges of Perce wrought for in vaine, with ſo many milyons of mē of warre and with ſo many nauies. This therfore is my opynion, that Alexanders Chayer of eſtate be ſet in the middes of the court, and that al ſuch as were wont to be of counſaile with him, ſhall aſſemble together ſo often as eny matter requireth to be cōſulted vpon. And that yͤ captains and rulers of the armye ſhalbe obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do aſſent. There were ſome agreyd wyth Ptolomeus, but fewe with Perdicas. Then Ariſtonus ſpake in this wiſe: When Alexander was demaunded, to whome he woulde leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthieſt to be choſe. Who iudged the worthieſt but Perdicas, to whom he deliuered his rynge? This was not done at ſuch time as he was alone, but when all his frendes were preſente, he did caſte his eyes emonges them, and at length chaſe out on to whom he deliuered it. For this cauſe I think it ryght that yͤ kingdome be cōmitted vnto Perdicas.

Ariſtones wordes.

many agreed to his opinion, ſo that the aſſemble cried to Perdicas that he ſhoulde come forth emonges thē, and take vp the kinges ſignet. But he ſtayed betwene ambition and ſhamefaſtnes, thinkyng the more modeſtye he vſed in getting the thinge whiche he coueted, they woulde be ſo muche the more earneſt to profer it hym. When he had ſtande a good while at a ſtaye, doubtyng what to do, at lengthe he drewe backe, and ſtode behinde them which ſate nexte vnto hym.

Meleagers wordes.

When Meleager that was one of the captaynes ſawe the ſtay that Perdicas made, he toke courag vpō his feblenes & ſayd: Neither ẏ Goddes wil permit, nor men wil ſuffer, that Alexanders eſtate, and the weght of ſo great an empire ſhould reſt vpon his ſhoulders. I will not rehearſe how there be many men more noble thē he is, and of greater worthines, without whoſe cōſent no ſuch thing may be ſuffred to be done. There is no difference whether ye make Perdicas kynge, or the ſonne of Roxane, whēſoeuer he ſhalbe borne. Seyng Perdicas goeth aboute to make him ſelfe kynge, vnder pretence to be gouernour to the Infant. That is the cauſe why no kinge can pleaſe him, but ſuche one as is not yet borne. And in ſuche an haſte as all we make to haue a kynge [illegible] preſerued and kepte. Why do not you runne therefore to ſpoyle the treaſure ſeyng that the people ought to enherite it. When he hadde ſpoken thoſe wordes he brake through the preaſe of the armed men, and they whyche gaue hym waye, folowed hym to the ſpoyle, whereof he hadde made mencion.

The gredines of ỹ treaſure cauſed a great band of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the aſſemble began to fall to diſcorde and ſedicion: which had growen to greater inconuenience if a meane ſouldier whō verye fewe did knowe, had not ſtepped forth, and ſpoken to the multitude. What nede we (quod he) to fall to force or ciuill warre ſeyng we haue a kynge alredye whiche you ſeke to finde. The ſame is Aridens Philips ſonne, brother to Alexander that latelye was our kynge, borne and brought vp in the ſame religion and ceremonies that we do vſe: who beyng the onlye heyre, I maruayle by what deſeruing of hys, he is ouerſlipped or what he hathe done, why he ſhoulde not enioye hys ryght, deſcended vnto hym by the vniuerſall lawe of the worlde. If you ſeke one to be comparable to Alexander, you ſhall neuer fynde hym. If you will haue ſuch one as ſhall approche nexte vnto hym, this onelye he. When theſe wordes were hearde e=

The wordes of a ſouldiour in the aſſemble.

Aridens.

towardes his parentes, appeared in the purpoſe he had to conſecrate his mother Olympias to immortalitie, and in that he ſo ſore reuēgyd Philips death. How gētle and familiar was he towardes his frēdes, and how benyuolent towarde his ſouldiours. He had a wiſedome equall to the greatnes of his harte, and ſuche a pollicy and forecaſt, as ſo young yeares were ſcarſely able to receiue. A meaſure he had in immoderate pleaſures and luſte, leſſe then nature deſieryd, vſyng no pleaſure but that was lawefull: theſe were wonderful greate giftes and vertues.

Beneuolent

But in that he comparyd him ſelfe to the Gods, couetyng dyuyne honours, and beleued ẏ Oracles that perſwaded ſuch thinges, that he was offendyd wͭ them that would not worſhip him, and geuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient. That he alteryd his habite and apparaile into ẏ faſhiō of ſtraungers, & counterfaited the cuſtome of them he had ſubdued, and deſpiſed before his victory: were vices to be attributyd to the greatnes of fortune. As the heate of youthe ſtirred him to anger, and to the deſyre of drinkyng: ſo age might haue mytigated agayne thoſe faultes. Notwithſtandyng it muſte nedes be confeſſyd, that though he preuailed muche by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more vnto his fortune, which only of al mortal men, he had in his owne power. Howe oftē did ſhe deliuer him from the poynte of death? Howe often did ſhe defende him wyth perpetual felicitye, when he hadde raſhelye braught him ſelfe in peryll? And when ſhe poynted an endes to his glorye, ſhe euen then was contente to fyniſhe his life, ſtaiynge his fatall deſtenye tyll he had ſubdued the Orient, viſited the Ocean Sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortalitie was able to performe. To this ſo greate a kyng, and ſo noble a conqueroure

Vices

a ſucceſſour was loked for. But the matter was of ouer great importaunce for eny one man to take vpon hym: Alexanders name and renowne was ſo great emonges all nations, and they were counted moſt noble that might be partakers (though it were neuer ſo lytle) of his proſperous fortune.

But to returne agayne to Babilon from whence this degreſſiõ hath ben made: Thei which had ẏ guard & cuſtodie of Alexanders perſone, called into the court ſuche as had bene his chiefe frendes and captaines of the men of warre: after whõ there folowed a great multitude of ſouldiours, deſieryng to knowe who ſhould be ſucceſſoure vnto Alexander. The throng of the ſouldiours was ſuche, that manye of the captaynes were excluded, and could not enter into the court. A Proclamation therfore was made whe by all men were forbiden to enter, excepte ſuche as were called by name. But becauſe their commaundement ſemed to want auctoritie, it was litle regarded, & the multitud at the firſt began to make a greuous ſorowe and lamentation. But immediatly the deſire they had to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the matter, ſtopped their lamentacion, and made ſilence. Then Perdicas brought forth in ſight of al the people ẏ kinges chayre of eſtate, wherin Alexanders Diademe, hys veſtures regall and hys armour was layde, emonges the which ornamentes Perdicas alſo layde downe the kynges ſignet, deliueryd to hym the day before: at the ſyght wherof they began to wepe, and to renue againe their ſorow. Thē ſaide Perdicas: Lo here is the ring wherto he was wont to ſeale ſuch thinges was pertayned to the gouernement of his Empire, which as he deliuered to me, I ſo reſtore it agayne to you. And although no aduerſitye can be deuiſyd by the Goddes (were they

The aſſẽble after the death of Alexander.

Ergo Lindal.

Perdicas wordes.

neuer ſo muche offended) comperable to this, Yet conſideryng ye greatnes of the actes which he hath done, we muſte thinke that as the Goddes ſent ſuch a man ſo to raigne in the worlde his tyme beyng expired that was appointed, thei haue called him again to the place from whence he came. Forſomuche therfore as none other thing remaineth of him emonges vs but only ye whyche is alwayes wont to be remoued from immortalitie: let vs perfourme the due pertayninge bothe to hys bodye, and to his name: remembringe in what cite we are, emonges what kynde of people, and what a kynge and gouernour we haue loſte. We muſte debate & deuiſe howe to mayntayne our conqueſt emonges them of whō it is gotten: For the doing wherof it is nedefull for vs to haue an heade, But whether the ſame ſhall be one, or manye, it dothe conſiſte in you. You are not ignoraunt that a multitude of mē of warre without an heade, is a body without life. Sixe monethes be nowe paſſed ſynce Roxane was conceiued with chylde, we deſire of God that ſhe maye bryng forth a ſonne, whiche maye enioye thys kyngdome, when he cometh to age. In the meane ſeaſon appoynte you, of whome ye wyll be gouerned. When Perdicas hadde ſpoken theſe wordes, Nearchus roſe vp, and ſaied: There is no man can denye but that it were mete for Alexanders ſucceſſion to continue in the bloude royall, but to loke for a kyng that is not yet borne, and to paſſe ouer one that is in his beyng already, is neither expedient for ſuch mē as the Macedons be, nor yet dothe ſerue the neceſſitie of the tyme. There is a ſonne whiche Alexander begote by Barſines, what ſhould let why the Diademe may not be ſet on his head? Nearchus tale was acceptable to no mā.

Nearchus wordes.

Barſines.

Therfore yͤ ſouldiers accordyng to their cuſtome claſhed their ſpeares againſt the targets, & cōtinued makyng of a noyſe. And when he woulde not forſake his opynion, but obſtinately mainteined the ſame, the matter had almoſt bredde a ſedition: which thing perceiued by Ptolomeus, he ſpake after this maner.

Ptolomeus wordes.

Neither the ſonne of Roxane nor Barſines, is an iſſue mete to reigne ouer the Macedones, whoſe names we ſhold be aſhamed to mencyon within Europe, their mothers beinge captiues. Haue we ſubdued the Perſians to that ende, to become ſubiect to ſuche as be deſcended of them? That was the thinge which Darius and xerxes beynge kynges of Perce wrought for in vaine, with ſo many milyons of mē of warre and with ſo many nauies. This therfore is my opynion, that Alexanders Chayer of eſtate be ſet in the middes of the court, and that al ſuch as were wont to be of counſaile with him, ſhall aſſemble together ſo often as eny matter requireth to be cōſulted vpon. And that yͤ captains and rulers of the armye ſhalbe obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do aſſent. There were ſome agreyd wyth Ptolomeus, but fewe with Perdicas. Then Ariſtonus ſpake in this wiſe: When Alexander was demaunded, to whome he woulde leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthieſt to be choſē. Whō iudged he worthieſt but Perdicas, to whom he deliuered his rynge? This was not done at ſuch time as he was alone, but when all his frendes were preſente, he did caſte his eyes emonges them, and at length chaſe out on to whom he deliuered it. For this cauſe I think it ryght that yͤ kingdome be cōmitted vnto Perdicas.

Ariſtonus wordes.

many agreed to his opinion, ſo that the aſſemble cried to Perdicas that he ſhoulde come forth emonges thẽ, and take vp the kinges ſignet. But he ſtayed betwene ambition and ſhamefaſtnes, thinkyng the more modeſtye he vſed in getting the thinge whiche he coueted, they woulde be ſo muche the more earneſt to profer it hym. When he had ſtande a good while at a ſtaye, doubtyng what to do, at lengthe he drewe backe, and ſtode behinde them whiche ſate nexte vnto hym.

Meleagers wordes.

When Meleager that was one of the captaynes ſawe the ſtay that Perdicas made, he toke courag vpõ his feblenes & ſayd: Neither yͤ Goddes wil permit, nor men wil ſuffer, that Alexanders eſtate, and the weight of ſo great an empire ſhoulde reſt vpon his ſhoulders. I will not rehearſe how there be many men more noble thẽ he is, and of greater worthines, without whoſe cõſent no ſuch thing may be ſuffred to be done. There is no difference whether ye make Perdicas kyng, or the ſonne of Roxane, whenſoeuer he ſhalbe borne. Seyng Perdicas goeth aboute to make him ſelfe kynge, vnder pretence to be gouernour to the Infant. That is the cauſe why no kinge can pleaſe him, but ſuche one as is not yet borne. And in ſuche an haſte as all we make to haue a kynge (whiche haſte is bothe mete and neceſſary for the preſeruation of our eſtate) he onely doth wayte for the expyryng of tymes, and monethes, imagynynge that ſhe ſhoulde brynge forthe a man chylde, whiche I thinke ye doubte not but he is readye to counterfayte and exchaunge, if nede be. If it were ſo in very dede that Alexander had appoynted him to be our king, I am of opinion that the ſame thing only (of all the thinges he hath commaunded) ought not to be perfourmed and kepte. Why do not you runne therfore to ſpoyle the treaſure, ſeyng that the people ought to enherite it? When he hadde ſpoken thoſe wordes he brake through the preaſe of the armed men, and thei whyche gaue hym waye, folowed hym to the ſpoyle, wherof he hadde made mencion.

The gredines of ÿ treaſure cauſed a great band of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the aſſemble began to fall to diſcorde and ſedicion: which had growen to greater inconuenience if a meane ſouldier whō verye fewe did knowe, had not ſtepped forth, and ſpoken to the multitude. What nede we (quod he) to fall to force or ciuill warre ſeyng we haue a kynge alredye whiche you ſeke to finde. The ſame is Aridens Philips ſonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our kynge, borne and brought vp in the ſame religion and ceremonies that we do vſe: who beyng the onlye heyre, I maruaile by what deſeruing of hys, he is ouerſlipped or what he hathe done, why he ſhoulde not enioye hys ryght, deſcended vnto hym by the vniuerſall lawe of the worlde. If you ſeke one to be comparable to Alexander, you ſhall neuer fynde hym. If you will haue ſuch one as ſhall approche nexte vnto hym, this onelye he. When theſe wordes were hearde emonges the multitude, they kept ſilence at the firſt, as if they hadde bene cōmaunded by auctoritie, but afterwardes they cried w one voyce, ÿ Aridens ſhoulde be called, and that thei were worthy death which made eny aſſemble without him. Then Python al beſprinkeled wyth teares, began to ſpeake. Nowe I perceyue (quod he) Alexanders caſe to be moſt miſerable, ſeyng he is defrauded of ÿ fruit, which ſuch as were his ſouldiers & ſubiectes ſhold brīg forth at ſuch a time as this is

The wordes of a ſouldiour in the aſſemble.

Aridens.

Pithons wordes,

In

For you hauing reſpect onlye to the name and memorye of your kynge, be vtterlye blinde in the ſtate of thinges. His wordes tended directlye to the repulſe of Aridens that was elected kyng. But the tale procured more hatred to the ſpeaker, then contempte to him againſt whom they were mente. For the compaſſion they had of Aridens, cauſed them the more to fauour his cauſe, and therefore declared by an obſtinate crye, that they woulde not ſuffre eny to raigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that poſſibilitie, and ſtill called for Aridens to come forthe emonges them. Wherupon Meleager for the malice and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas, toke an occaſion boldlye to bring him into the aſſemble, whō the multitude ſaluted as king, and called him Philippe. This was the voyce of the people, but the nobilitie was of an other mynd, of whō Pithon toke vpon him to put Perdicas deuiſe in executiō, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (diſcended of the bloude royal) to be gouernours of the ſonne whyche ſhoulde be borne of Roxane: adding moreouer that Craterus and Antipater, ſhoulde haue the rule within Europe. And vpon this they ſware the ſouldyers to be obedient to Alexanders iſſue.

Nota.

Aridens was choſen kyng.

Meleager thē doubting (not without cauſe) that ſome euill might come to him departed wyth ſuche as were of his faction, but he returned immediatlye againe bringyng Philip wͭ him into the court, & cried out to yͤ multitude for the aſſiſtyng of the cōmune welth, in ayding of the newe Kynge whome a lyttle before they had elected: and willed them to make an experimente of his actiuitie, perſuadyng that he was the meteſte to rule ouer them being the iſſue of Philip, that had both a king to hys father, and a kyng to his brother. There is no profound Sea, ſo ſtormy nor tempeſtuous, that raiſeth vp ſo many ſourges ⁊ waues, as a multitude doth mocions and alteracions, when they haue gotten the hope of a newe libertie, not likely long to cōtinue. There wanted not ſome that gaue their conſente to Perdicas, but more agreed to make Philip king. They could neither agre nor diſagre to eny thyng long time togather. One while repentinge them of that they had determined, and ſtreightwayes forthought thē of that repentaunce. Yet finally they were enclyned to prefer the kinges bloude. Arideus was put in ſuch feare with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the aſſemble: after whoſe departure, the fauour of the ſouldiers was rather ſilente, then decayed towardes him. So that at length he was called againe, and hys brothers veſture regal, whych lay in the chayre put vpō him. And Meleager put on his armoure, folowinge as a defence to the perſone of the newe king. The ſouldiers of the fote band claſſhed their ſpeares to their targettes, threatening to ſhede their bloud, which wold coueit ẏ kingdome that pertayned not to thē. They reioyſed that the force of the Empire ſhould not be diſperſed but ſtill continue in the ſame familie, the ryghte of whoſe enheritaunce commynge of the bloude royall, they ſhewed them ſelues ready alwayes to defend. For by reaſon they were acuſtomed to haue the name of their king in ſuche honour and in veneracion: they thoughte no man worthy for it, but ſuche one as came therunto by diſcent of bloude. Perdicas therfore was afrayed, and .vi. hundred men that were of an approued manhode, toke vpon him to defend the place wheras the body of Alexander lay. Ptolomeus ioyned him ſelfe vnto him, and the band of the young gentill men that were aboute the kynges perſone. But ſo manye

thou-

Note.

Embaſſadours were ſent about a reconciliacion.

thouſandes of armed men as were vpon the other ſyde did eaſely brake in vpon theym. Emonges whom the kyng was preſent, wyth a great band for the guard about his perſone wherof Meleager was chief. Perdicas therfore in a great furye, called ſuche to his part as would defend Alexanders body, but many of them were ſore hurt with dartes that were throwen from the contrary ſyde. At the laſt the auncient men plucked of their head peces (the better to be knowen) and deſired them which were with Perdicas to abſtaine from cyuil warre, and geue place to the kynge and to the greater parte. Wherupon Perdicas was the fyrſte that layd downe his weapon, & the reſte did in lyke maner. Meleager then perſuaded thē that they ſhould not departe, but remayne ſtil about the deade corſe: but he iudgynge that to be a deceite, and a meane to entrap hym, fled to a place on the further ſide of Euphrates, lyinge ouer against the court. Then ye horſemē which conſiſted chiefly of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas and Leonatus, whoſe opinion was, to depart out of the citye and take the fieldes. But becauſe Perdicas was not without hope, that the fote men woulde haue taken his part, remayned ſtil within the Citye, leſt he myghte ſeme to be the cauſe that ye horſemen ſhould deuyde them ſelues from the reſt of the armye. Melager ceaſed not to beate in the kynges head, that he coulde not eſtabliſh hym ſelf ſurely in his eſtate otherwiſe then by the death of Perdicas whoſe ambitious mynd deſirous of innouation was (he ſaid) to be preuented in tyme. He willed the kynge to remembre what Perdicas had deſerued at his handes, and that no man would be faythful to him, whom he feared. The kyng ſuffryng the thing rather then geuing his conſent to the matter: Meleager ſoly

Innovation

his frendes, for a commaundement was ſent for Perdicas in the kynges name, and they which were ſent had commiſſion to kyll him if he made eny ſticking to come with them. Perdicas hearing of their commynge accompanied only with .xvi. younge gentelmē (accuſtomed to attende vpon Alexanders perſone) mette them as they would haue entred into his lodging, & calling thē Meleagers ſlaues, rebuked them wt ſuch a conſtancy both of mind & countenaunce, yͭ they returned backe againe as men amaſed. Perdicas willed ſuche as were in hys companye to leape on horſebacke, & with a fewe of hys frendes repaired vnto Leonatus, myndyng if eny violence were moued agaynſte hym, to repulſe it with a greater force. The next daye the Macedons grudged and thought it a matter vnſitting, that Perdicas ſhuld be brought in daunger of death after ſuche a ſorte, and therfore determined with force to reuenge the raſhnes of Meleagers doynges.

But he vnderſtandynge of the mutine that was emōges the ſouldiers gaue place, and then repaired vnto the kyng demaundyng of hym if he had cōmaunded Perdicas to be taken. He cōfeſſed the thing, but it was done (he ſaide) by Meleagers mocion, which he declared to be no cauſe for them to make eny ſturre, ſeing yͭ Perdicas was a liue. The aſſemble hereupō brake vp, & Meleager became greatly afraide, ſpecially ſo aſtoniſed by the parting of the horſemen, yͭ he wiſt not what to do, for he ſawe the myſchiefe (whyche he a little before had wrought againſt his enemy) like to light vpon him ſelfe. And whiles he deuiſed thys and that, thre dayes were conſumed and ſpente. The wonted fourme and faſhion of the court did remaine in the meane ſeaſon.

For the Embaſſadours of diuers nacions made repaire vnto the kyng, the captaines of the armye dyd aſſemble aboute hym, and the guarde wayted in armoure as they were accuſtomed. But the great ſadnes that was there without eny apparant cauſe, ſignified ſome extreame dyſpaire. There was ſuche a ſuſpicion emonges them ſelues, that men durſte not companye together, nor ſpeake one to another, but ſtode imagenyng ſecretly wyth them ſelues, and by comparyng the tyme preſent wyth the tyme paſt, and the new kyng with the olde, they began to deſire hym that was gone. Then one enquired of another, where he was become, whoſe fortune and auctority they hadde folowed. Then they found them ſelues abandoned, emonges ſo many wild nacions, which were deſirous vpon eny occaſion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whiles they were troubled in theſe imaginacions, worde was broughte that the horſemen (which were vnder Perdicas) kept the fieldes about Babilon, and ſtayed all vittayles, commynge to the Citye. Whereupon firſt beganne a ſcarſitie, and afterwardes a famyne. Therefore ſuche as were wythin the Citye, thoughte good eyther to make a reconciliacion wyth Perdicas, or els to fyghte out the matter. It chaunſed that ſuche as dwelled abrode in the countrey fearyng the ſpoyle of the villages, repaired into the citye. And they within the citie for lacke of vyttayles, departed into the countrey. So that euery one thoughte them ſelues ſurer eny where, then in their owne habitacions. Then the Macedons doubtinge ſome great inconuenience that myght come of this feare, aſſembled together in the courte and ſhewed forth their opinions. It was agreed emonges them that Embaſſadours ſhould

be

he ſent to the horſemen, for the ſurceſſyng of all ſtrife & diuiſion. Paſus a Theſſalian, Amiſſas a Megapolitã, and Perelaus were ſente from the kynge: who declaringe their commiſſion, receyued aunſwere, that the horſemen wold not ſeuer their power, til the authours of the ſedition were deliuered into their handes. Whẽ they were returned and their aunſwere knowen, the ſouldiers without eny appoyntmente, put on their armour, and made ſuch a tumult, that the kynge was enforced to come forth of the court, and ſayd vnto them: If we ſhalbe at ſtrife emõges our ſelues, our enemies that be quiet, ſhall enioye the fruite of our contencion. Remembre that the quarell is with youre owne countreymen, wyth whome if ye raſhely breake the hope of reconcilement, ye ſhalbe the beginners of a ciuill war: Let vs proue if the matter maye be mitigated by an other Embaſſeat. I am of opinion, that for aſmuche as Alexãders body remaineth yet vnburied, thei wil gladly come together to perfourme the due vnto the dead. And for my part, I hadde rather ſurrender vp agayne this dignitie, then eny bloude ſhould be ſhed emonges my countreymen. For if no other hope of concorde do remaine, I deſire and praye you ſo to do, as the better choiſe of both. And with that word he wept, and pulled the Diademe frõ his head, holding the ſame forth with his hand, redy to haue deliuered it to eny man, ỹ would haue claimed to be more worthy then he. The moderacion ỹ he vſed both in his wordes, and his behauoure, cauſed thẽ all to conceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, which til ỹ time was obſcured wt the greatnes of his brothers fame. They therfore required and encoraged him, to go forwardes in the matter as he had deuiſed. Whereupon he ſent againe for Embaſſa-

Emmechyſbinge

The kinges wordes vnto the ſouldiers.

ſurrender.

vours the ſame men that went before, which had commiſſion to require yͤ Meleager might be the thirde ruler of the men of warre. That matter was not muche ſticked at, for Perdicas was deſirous to remoue Meleager from the king, and thought that he alone ſhould not be able to matche wyth Leonatus and hym. Vpon this Meleager marched out of the citye with the fotemen: and Perdicas met him in the fieldes rydynge before the bandes of the horſemen. There both battayles ſalutinge one an other, concorde, peace and amitye, was cõfirmed betwixt thē for euer (as it was thought). But it was decreed by deſtiny that ciuil warres ſhould ryſe emonges the Macedons. For gouernement is vnpacient of parteners, and the kyngdome was coueted by many. Which as it firſt grewe in force, ſo afterwardes it was diſperſed againe: For when the bodye was burdened with moo heades thē it could beare, the other membres began to faile. So thempire of yͤ Macedons whych vnder one head myght wel haue ſtand, when it was deuyded into partes, fell to ruyne. For that cauſe the people of Rome iuſtlye muſte confeſſe them ſelues bounde vnto their prince, for the felicitye they haue founde. Whych as a ſtarre in the nyght appeared vnto theim, that were neare loſte. And as the ſunne gaue lyghte to the worlde beynge in darckenes when without ſuche a head, the membres that were at variaunce, muſt nedes haue quayled. Howe many fyre brandes dyd he quenche? howe many ſwordes readye drawen did he put vp againe? Howe greate a tempeſt did he pacifye with the ſodeine caulme of his preſence? The Empire nowe therefore dothe waxe grene and floryſhing: Let me deſire without enuy, that his houſe may continue many ages, and his poſteritie remayne

Gouernment is
impatient of
partners. when
the bodie hath
[illegible] of heads
the members faile.

A degreſsion
to the praiſe
of thempe-
rour that
was in the
authours
tyme.

quayle.

for euermore. But to returne againe to the order of hiſtory, from whence I was brought through the contēplacion of our vniuerſal felicitie. Perdicas iudged the only hope of his owne ſaufegard, to conſiſt in the death of Meleager, thinkyng it neceſſary to preuent him beynge a man both variable, vnfaythfull, geuen to innouacion, and beſides his mortal enemy. But with deape diſſimulacion he kept his purpoſe ſecrete, to thintent ÿ with the leſſe difficultie, he mighte oppreſſe him vnbewares. He did ſubornate therfore priuely certaine of ÿ bandes vnder his rule, to complaine opēly (as though it were without his knowledge) that Meleager ſhould be made equal with him in aucthoritye: whiche wordes of the ſouldiers, whē they were reported vnto Meleager, became in a great rage, & declared their ſayinges to Perdicas. He ſemed to wonder at the matter, blaminge their doinge, as though he had bene ſory for the thing, and finally they agreed that the aucthors of ſuch ſedicious wordes ſhoulde be taken. When Meleager perceyued Perdicas ſo confirmable, he embraced hym and gaue him thankes for his fidelitie & beneuolence. Therby a conſultacion had betwixte theym both, they deuyſed howe to deſtroy ſuch as wroughte this deuiſiō betwixt them. For the bringinge of that to paſſe they agreed, that tharmy ſhould be purged according to their countrey cuſtome. To the doyng whereof they ſeamed haue a ſufficient occaſion, by reaſon of the late diſcorde emonges them. The kinges of Macedon in purifiynge of their ſouldiers, were wont to vſe a kynde of ceremony, deuidinge the bowels of a dogge in two partes and to caſte the ſame in the vttermoſte boundes of the field, wheron they purpoſed to muſter the army.

Perdicas deuiſed the death of Meleager.

A ceremonie that was vſed in the purifiyng of tharmy after any offēce made.

Ther the mē of warre accuſtome to ſtand armed, both the horſemen, the mercenary ſouldiers and the phalāx, euerye one parte. The ſame daye that this ceremonye was put in executien, the king ſtode in order of battaile with the horſemen and the Elephātes againſt the fotemen, of whom Meleager had the rule. When ẏ tropes of horſemen beganne to moue, the fotemen were ſtryken ſodainly wyth feare, and by reaſon of the late dyſcorde, conceyued a ſuſpicion that the horſemen mente them no good. Wherfore they ſtode a while in a doubt, whether they ſhoulde retire into the citie or no by reaſone that the fieldes ſerued beſt for the horſemen. But leſt wythout cauſe they mighte condempne the fidelitie of their companions, they ſtode ſtil with a determinate

determynate

mynde to fyghte, if eny profered them violence. Whē the battailes were almoſte met together, onely a ſmale dyſtaunce lefte betwyxt theim (whereby the one parte was deuided from the other) the kynge by the prouocacion of Perdicas wyth a bande of horſemen dyd ryde a longe the fotemen, requirynge the deliuery of ſuche to be executed, as were the aucthors of the dyſcorde: whom in very dede though he ought to haue defended: yet if thei refuſed their deliuery he threatened to bring againſt them, both the horſmen and the Elephantes. The fotemen were amaſed with the ſodeinnes of the miſchiefe whyche they loked not for, and there was no more counſell nor courage in Meleager then in the reſt, but they all iudged it moſte expediente for them, rather to abide the aduēture of that requeſt, then further to haſard fortune. When Pedicas ſawe them aſtonyned and in feare, he ſeuered out to the numbre of thre

ſevered

hundred of ſuch as folowed Meleager, when he brake out of the aſſemble, that was firſte made after Alexanders

ders death: whiche in the ſyght of all the armye were caſt to the Elephantes, and there trampled to deathe with their feete. Of whiche matter Philippe was neither yͤ authour, nor the forbidder but thought to clayme that for his owne doyng, whiche ſhould appeare beſt in the ende. This was a ſignification and a begynnyng vnto the Macedons of ciuil warres that enſued. Meleager vnderſtandyng ouer late the ſleyght of that deuiſe, becauſe there was no violēce offred vnto his perſone, ſtode at the firſte quietlye wythin the ſquare: but ſhortly after, when he ſawe his enemyes abuſynge to his deſtruction the name of him whō he had made king, he diſpayred of his owne ſafeguarde, and fledde into a temple. But the religiō of the place could not ſo defēd him, but that he was there ſlayne. Perdicas hereupon brought agayne the army into the citye, & callyng coūſaile of all the pryncipall perſonages, it was agreed ſo to deuyde the Empyre, that the Kyng ſhoulde remayne as chiefe of the whole. Ptolomeus to be lieutenaunte in Egipt and Affricke, and to haue the rule of the nacions there, that were vnder the Macedons dominion. Syria and Phenices were appointed to Laomedon. Cylicia to Philotas. Licia with Pamphilia, & the greater Phrigia, were aſſigned to Antigonus. Caſſander was ſente into Caria, and Menander into Lydia. The leſſer Phrigia that ioyned vnto Helleſpont, was Leonatus prouynce. Eumenes had Capadocia & Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to defende that countrey ſo farre as Trapezunt, and make warre to Arbates which onely remayned enemy to the Empire. Media was appointed to Python, and Thrace to Lyſmachus with other nacions thereaboute borderyng vpon the ſea of Ponte. It was ordeined alſo

Euerlate.

The deuiſis of thempire

Arbates.

that ſuche as ſhoulde be preſidentes emonges the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians, and other nacions lying vpon the Occean, and redde ſeas, ſhould in matter of iuſtice vſe regal iuriſdiction. It was decreed that Perdicas ſhould remayne with the kyng, and haue the gouernaunce of the men of warre that folowed him. Some beleue that theſe prouinces were diſtributed by Alexanders teſtamente, but we haue founde the ſame to be falſe, though ſome aucthour do witnes the ſame. The Empire being deuided into partes, euerye one might well haue defended his porcion, if eny boundes could conteyne mens immoderate deſires. Or if they beynge but miniſters vnto a kynge, when vnder the couloure of the adminiſtration of an others dominion had encroched into ſo great kingdomes, could haue auoyded the occaſions of warre, ſeyng they were all of one nacion, & had their countreyes appointed out by limittes. But it is hard for men to be contẽted wͭ that they haue in poſſeſſion, when occaſiõ is profered them of more. For the firſt thinges alwayes appere of no valure, when men be in hope of greater thinges to come. So that euery one of thẽ thought it an eaſier matter to encreaſe his kyngdome, then it was to gette it at the firſte. Alexanders body in the meane ſeaſon laye ſeuen dayes vnburied, for whiles euery man had care vpon the eſtabliſhyng of the ſtate, their mindes were drawen from the doyng of that ſolempne office.

Encroched.

Note.

There is no Countreye more feruente of heate then Meſopotamia. For the Sunne there burneth ſo hote, that it killeth the beaſtes that be without couert, and burne vp all thynges as it were with fire. And to the encreaſe therof, there be fewe ſprynges of water, & the inhabiters vſe ſuche polecye in hidyng of

Mesopotamia a
countrey hot conti=
nually for the
sunne burneth
all thinges as
it were fire.

thoſe they haue, that ſtraūgers can haue no vſe of the. This notwythſtanding, when Alexanders frendes had gotten leyſure to take care of the deade corſe, and came to viſite the ſame: they founde it wythout infection, corruption or chaunge of coloure: the ſame cherefulnes whyche conſiſteth of the ſpirite, not being yet departed oute of his countenaunce. Thē the Egipcians and the Caldeis were commaundyd to dreſſe hys bodye after their maner, who at the fyrſte (as though he hadde bene aliue) had a feare to put their handes to him. But afterwardes making their prayers that it might be lawfull for mortall men to touche hym, they purged his body, and filled it wyth ſwete odours. And afterwardes layed him vpon a hearſe of golde, and ſet a Diademe vpon hys heade. Manye thought that he dyed of poyſon, and that Iolle Antipaters ſonne beyng one of his miniſters, had geuen hym the ſame. Alexander oftentimes woulde ſaye, that Antipater coueted the eſtate of a kyng, affecting more greatnes, then partained to a Lieutenaunte, and that through glorie of the victory he had gotten of the Lacedemonians, was become ſo proude, that he claymed al thinges committed vnto him as hys owne. It is thought alſo that Craterus was ſente to kyll hym, wyth thoſe olde ſouldiours that were diſmiſſed. It is certaine that there is a poyſon in Macedon founde in a water called Stiges, of ſuche force, that it conſumed Iron, and wil not be conteined in eny thyng, ſauing in the houe of an horſe or mule: which poiſon was brought by Caſſander, and deliuered to his brother Iolle, whiche preſented it in the drinke that the king laſte dronke. Howſoeuer theſe thinges be reported, the power of them of whō the rumour wēt, ſhortly after oppreſſed ẏ infamy.

Incorrodible

A poyson in Macedon that will consume yrone

Stiges

Jolle the sonne to Antypater gave the poysned cupp to Alexsander.

For Antipater became kyng both of Macedon and of Greace, and his chyldren after hym, whiche putte to deathe all ſuche as were enye thynge neare of kynne vnto Alexander. Ptolomeus whiche hadde the rule of Egipt, conueyed Alexanders bodye to Memphis, whiche wythin fewe yeares after was remoued to Alexandria, where as all honoure is geuen to the memorye of him, and to his name.

Finis.

IMPRYNTED
at London by Richarde Tottell, dwellynge in Fletestrete at the ſigne of the hande and ſtarre, within
Temple barre. Anno domini.
1553.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.
per ſeptennium.